

If the Administration had had the slightest inclination to change that system, all that it would have had to do was to fold its hands and wait -- let the system continue to default to itself and to the public.

Instead we did what the previous Administration had declined to do through all the years of the depression -- we acted quickly and drastically to save it. It was because of our belief in private enterprise that we acted -- because of our faith in the essential and fundamental virtue of democracy and our conviction that individual initiative and private profit served it best.

You who read the business sections of the newspapers, the financial and commercial reports, know what we did and what its results have been.

But as your profits return and the values of your securities and investments come back, do not forget the lessons of the past. We must hold constantly to the resolve never again to become committed to the philosophy of the boom era, to individualism run wild, to the false promise that American business was great because it had built up financial control of industrial production and distribution in the hands of a few individuals and corporations by the use of other people's money; that

government should be ever ready to purr against the legs of high finance; that the benefits of the free competitive system should trickle down by gravity from the top to the bottom; and above all, that government had no right, in any way, to interfere with those who were using the system of private profit to the damage of the rest of American citizens.

Collapse of business was the price we paid for not facing intelligently the problems of private enterprise in a modern world.

There were those who advised extreme courses in the days of the crisis in 1933. Many said the deflation should take its course, wiping out in bankruptcy all but a handful of the strongest.

Some, including many business men, urged that the only solution was for government to take everything over and run things itself.

We took the middle road. We used the facilities and resources available only to government, to permit individual enterprise to resume its normal functions in a socially sound competitive order. We provided credit at one end of the business mechanism and purchasing power at the other. The broken pipes of the circulatory system of business have been welded together again.

An overwhelming majority of independent individual business men approve in their hearts what we did to save American business. I am equally sure that a handful of monopolistic business men hate what we did for American business. Business had become regimented. Free enterprise was being gobbled up piece by piece. Economic control of business in these few persons had developed into political control of government itself. They did not want us to take American business out of their grip.

But we not only have freed government from their domination; we are now freeing business also from their domination.

We have loosened the grip of monopoly by taking from monopolists their chief tools -- the devices of high finance.

We are resolved to keep politics out of business. But at the same time we ask that business refrain from coercion in politics. Not only wage-earners but nearly all business men resent the present attempts by a few employers to frighten their employees by misrepresentation. For example, a few employers are spreading half-truths about the Social Security Law, half-truths that tell the workers only of the workers' contribution, and fail to mention the

employers' contribution. They conceal from the workers the fact that for every dollar which the employee contributes, the employer also contributes a dollar, and that both dollars are held in a government trust fund solely for the social security of the workers.

Things like this bring certain types of employers into disrepute with other employers and with the great mass of our citizens. The real objective of this minority is the repeal of any form of social security to which they themselves have to contribute. For many years the record shows that this minority has been willing to take only a plan of unemployment insurance and old age pensions to which the workers would be the sole contributors and which would cost the employers nothing at all.

All we ask of business and for business is the greater good of the greater number -- fair treatment by it and fair treatment for it. We are reaching for security -- the security which comes from an intelligent and honorable system of interdependent economics which every business man as well as every one else can trust and into which he can venture with confidence.

We seek to guarantee the survival of private enterprise by guaranteeing conditions in which it can work.

We seek to insure the material well-being of America, and to make more firm the real foundations of a lasting democracy.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY

October 28, 1936, 9.45 A.M.

Mr. Mayor, my friends of Bayonne:

I am glad to come back here.

I am happy to know that your factories and all of your industrial plants are running again. One of our great hopes of four years ago was that we could bring a greater security to the people of the United States, a greater prosperity in all the things that they are doing and, more than that, the kind of a prosperity and the kind of a security which would last them through their lives and through their old age -- last them and their children. That objective we have at least in part attained.

Wherever I go, throughout the country, I find a greater happiness and I find a greater sense of security. It is my hope that this improvement will be continued during the next four years.

And so, my friends, I am glad to come back here and glad to have seen you. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF LAYING THE CORNERSTONE,
BROOKLYN COLLEGE, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

October 28, 1936, about 11.00 A.M.

Mr. Mayor, my friends:

I have seen blueprints and I have seen photographs and now I see the real article with my own eyes. (Applause)

Every time that the Mayor of the City of New York comes to Washington I tremble (laughter), tremble because it means he wants something and he nearly always gets it.

This project for Brooklyn College is killing two birds with one stone. We are not only putting to work, we not only have put to work many thousands of good people who needed work, but we are also improving the educational facilities of this great Borough, not just for today but for generations to come.

Out of this depression, while there has been much misery and much suffering, there has also come much good because, especially in educational lines, it has given this country an opportunity, not only in this city, not only in every other city of the country, but in almost every county of the three thousand and more counties in the United States, to get better schools for the young people. That is why I am very, very keen, very much interested in all of these public works projects which have improved the schools of the nation.

I am glad to come here today and to wish to Brooklyn College the fine and successful future that it deserves.

You, here, are doing a great work. May it live through the generations to come for the building up of a better American citizenship.

So, my friends, I am glad to have been with you today. I have a somewhat hectic and hurried day but I hope sometime in the future to come back and see this building being used and occupied. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE CEREMONIES MARKING THE
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE STATUE OF LIBERTY
BEDLOE'S ISLAND, NEW YORK

October 28, 1936, 2.30 P.M.

Mr. Ambassador, Monsieur de Tessan, Secretary Ickes,
Governor Lehman, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

Fifty years ago our old neighbor and friend from across the sea gave us this monument to stand at the principal eastern gateway to the New World. Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, accepted this gift with the pledge that "We will not forget that liberty has (here) made her home here; nor shall her chosen altar be neglected."

During those fifty years that covenant between ourselves and our most cherished convictions has not been broken.

Four hundred years ago, in Europe as well as in Asia, there was little hope of liberty for the average men of courage and good-will. The ambitions of a ruling class and the times alike, conspired against liberty of conscience, liberty of speech, liberty of the person, liberty of economic opportunity. Wars, dynastic and religious, had exhausted both the substance and the tolerance of the Old World. There was neither economic nor political liberty -- nor any hope for either.

Then came one of the great ironies of history. Rulers needed to find gold to pay their armies and increase their power over the common men. The seamen they sent to find that

gold found instead the way of escape for the common man from those rulers. What they found over the Western horizon was not the silk and jewels of Cathay but mankind's second chance -- a chance to create a new world after he had almost spoiled an old one. (Applause)

And the Almighty seems purposefully to have withheld that second chance until the time when men would most need and appreciate liberty, the time when men would be enlightened enough to establish it on foundations sound enough to maintain it.

For over three centuries a steady stream of men, women and children followed the beacon of liberty which this light symbolizes. They brought to us strength and moral fibre developed in a civilization centuries old but fired anew by the dream of a better life in America. They brought to one new country the cultures of a hundred old ones.

I think it has not been sufficiently emphasized in the teaching of our history that the overwhelming majority of those who came from the nations of the Old World to our American shores were not the laggards, (not) nor the timorous, (not) nor the failures. They were men and women who had the supreme courage to strike out for themselves, to abandon language and relatives -- to start at the bottom without influence, without money and without knowledge of life in a very young civilization. We can say for all America what

the Californians say of the Forty-Miners "The cowards never started and the weak died by the way."

Perhaps Providence did prepare this American continent of ours to be a place of the second chance. Certainly, millions of men and women have made it that. They adopted this homeland because in this land they found a home in which the things they most desired could be theirs -- freedom of opportunity, freedom of thought, freedom to worship God. Here they found life because here (there) was freedom to live.

It is the memory of all these eager seeking millions that makes this one of America's great places of (great) romance. Looking down this great harbor I like to think of the countless number of inbound vessels that have made this port. I like to think of the men and women who -- with the break of dawn off Sandy Hook -- have strained their eyes to the west for a first glimpse of the New World.

They came to us -- most of them -- in steerage. But they, in their humble quarters, saw things in these strange horizons which were denied to the eyes of those (few) who travelled in greater luxury.

They came to us speaking many tongues -- but a single language, the universal language of human aspiration.

How well their hopes were justified is proved by the record of what they achieved. They not only found freedom in the New World, but by their effort and devotion they made the New World's freedom safer, richer, more far-reaching, more

capable of growth.

Within this present generation that stream from abroad has largely stopped. We have within our shores today the materials out of which we shall continue to build an even better home for liberty.

We take satisfaction in the thought that those who have left their native land to join us, may still retain here their affection for some things left behind -- old customs, old language, old friends. Looking to the future, they wisely choose that their children shall live in the new language and in the new customs of (this) our new people. And those children more and more realize their common destiny in America. That is true whether their forebears came past this place eight generations ago or only one.

The realization that we are all bound together by hope of a common future rather than by reverence for a common past has helped us to build upon this continent a unity unapproached in any similar area or similar sized population in the whole world. For all our millions of square miles, for all our millions of people, there is a unity in language and speech, in law and (in) economics, in education and in general purpose, which nowhere finds its match.

It was the hope of those who gave us this Statue and the hope of the American people in receiving it that the Goddess of Liberty and the Goddess of Peace were the same.

The grandfather of my old friend the French Ambassador, and those who helped him make this gift possible, were citizens of a great sister Republic established on the principle of the democratic form of government. Citizens of all democracies unite in their desire for peace. (Applause) Grover Cleveland recognized (this) that unity (on this spot fifty years ago) of purpose on this very spot.

He suggested that liberty enlightening the world would extend her rays from these shores to every other nation.

Today (the) that symbolism should be broadened. To the message of liberty which America sends to all the world must be added her message of peace.

Even in times as troubled and uncertain as these, I still hold to the faith that a better civilization than any we have known is in store for America and by our example, perhaps, for the world. Here destiny seems to have taken a long look. Into this continental reservoir there has been poured untold and untapped wealth of human resources. Out of that reservoir -- out of the melting pot -- the rich promise which the New World held out to those who came to it from many lands is finding fulfillment.

The richness of the promise has not run out. If we keep the faith for our day as those who came before us kept the faith for theirs, then you and I can smile with confidence into the future.

It is fitting, therefore, that this should be a service of re-dedication to the liberty and the peace which this Statue symbolizes. Liberty and peace are living things. In each generation -- if they are to be maintained -- they must be guarded and vitalized anew.

We do only a small part of our duty to America when we glory in the great past. Patriotism that stops with that is a too-easy patriotism -- a patriotism out of step with the patriots themselves. For each generation the more patriotic part is to carry forward American freedom and American peace by making them living facts in a living present.

To that, my friends, we can, we do, re-dedicate ourselves. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ROOSEVELT PARK, NEW YORK CITY
October 28, 1936, 4.00 P.M.

Governor Lehman, Mr. Mayor, my friends of the
East Side: (Applause)

There are some experiences in this life which
give one new strength, a new purpose to carry on. Today,
at the Statue of Liberty, and now seeing this great gath-
ering, I obtain inspiration to go on with the task that
is mine. And I am very happy for the first time, because
I have not driven through here for two or three years, to
see this Park that was named after my dear mother. (Ap-
plause) When that was done, I can tell you very simply
that I don't believe I have ever seen her made more happy
in all her life. (Applause) And that, also, is something
that I will always remember, and my children and my grand-
children in the years to come. (Applause)

I have just come from the ceremonies at the Statue
of Liberty. I suggested there that we should rededicate
that Statue not to Liberty alone but also to Peace. (Ap-
plause) I spoke there of the steady stream of human re-
sources which the old world poured on our shores and out
of which our American civilization has been built.

Many of the people who came past the Statue of Liberty settled in this section of New York City. Here they wove into the pattern of American life some of the color, (and) some of the richness of the cultures from which they came. Here they joined in that great process out of which we have welded (an) our American citizenship.

We gave them freedom. I am proud -- America is proud -- of what they have given to us. (Applause)

They have never been -- they are not now -- half-hearted Americans. In (Americanization) their classes and (at night) in their schools they have burned the midnight oil in order to be worthy of their new allegiance.

They were not satisfied merely to find here the realization of the material hopes which had guided them from their native land. They were not satisfied merely to build a material home for themselves and their families.

However, they were intent also upon building a place for themselves in the ideals of America. (Applause) They sought an assurance of permanency in the new land for themselves and their children based upon active participation in its civilization and culture.

Those who have come here of late understand and appreciate our free institutions and our free opportunity,

as well as those who have been here for many generations. The great majority of the new and the old do not confuse the word "liberty" with the word "license". They appreciate that the American standard of freedom does not include the right to do things to hurt (their) our own neighbors. (Applause) (All) Every one of us -- old-comers and new-comers -- agree that for the speculator to gamble with and lose the savings of (the) his clients (of) in his bank is just as contrary to American ideals of liberty as it is for the poor man to upset the peddler's cart and steal his wares. (Applause) To our newer Americans America is a great discovery. They who have never been so free before rejoice in our freedom. Our liberty is warmed by the fire of their devotion.

I am inclined to think that in some cases the newer citizens have discharged their obligations to us better than we have discharged our obligations to them. (Applause) For example, their coming helped to intensify the housing problem in many of our great cities. We have not yet worked out an adequate answer to that problem.

As a matter of fact, we have, for too long, neglected the housing problem for all our lower-income groups. We have spent large sums of money on parks, on highways,

on bridges, on museums, and for other projects of civic betterment. For the most part that (was) money was well spent. But we have not yet begun adequately to spend money in order to help the families in the over-crowded sections of our cities to live as American citizens have a right to live. (Applause)

You and I will not be content until City, State and Federal governments join with private capital in helping every American family to live (that) the right way.

We need action to get better city housing. Senator Wagner and I had hoped for a new law at the last session of the Congress. We who believe in better housing have not been defeated. (Applause) I am confident that the next Congress will start us on our way with a sound housing policy. (Applause) We shall certainly get it if on November third you vote to send to Washington the kind of government which I am confident you want (applause) -- a government which will work and continue to work for security of the home, for security of jobs, for security of savings, and for better homes in every part of the Nation. (Applause)

And so, my friends, let me thank you for this greeting that you have given me. It has been a wonderful day in my life and I am going to end my speech by cutting a cake. (Applause, laughter)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA
October 29, 1936, 9.30 A.M.

(There were about 70,000 people in the audience.)

My friends of Pennsylvania: (Applause)

When I found that I was to speak in Harrisburg today, and realized that (it) today is John Mitchell Day, I determined to come by way of Wilkes-Barre, (Applause) because I wanted to pay (my) tribute to (him) one whom I was happy and proud to call my friend. (Applause)

Many long years ago, in 1913, I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I was asked at that time to examine charges of collusion in coal bids for the Navy. I needed help from someone whose integrity and knowledge I could trust. I recalled then how impressed Theodore Roosevelt had been with John Mitchell's handling of the great coal (strike of 1902) problem of ten and twelve years before. And so I asked John Mitchell to help me. In three days he taught me (a great deal) about coal and about coal mining. What he taught me saved the United States Navy many hundreds of thousands of dollars a year in its coal bill. (Applause)

You in this anthracite region and miners in every other coal field in the United States, have a fuller picture of this man who was one of the most significant figures in American labor history. For many years he went about the unspectacular but very necessary job of clearing the ground for the progress of a great labor movement. He taught a dispersed industry how to organize. He taught both management and labor that the only basis for stability is to be found in contracts that can and will be lived up to by both management and labor.

By victory in the first great battle of the mine workers he broke the tradition of defeat which had always hung over the aspirations of those he led. He convinced the public that the gains of labor were the gains of all -- that the labor movement was something to be welcomed rather than feared. He made public opinion a judge to which labor could more confidently appeal. His work was necessary before other men could do theirs.

And so we now build upon the work of John Mitchell. He pioneered in his day for collective bargaining. Today we have put upon the Federal statute books the legal mechanism to make collective bargaining a reality. (Applause)

He pioneered in his day for the education of the public. Today we aim to make the public conscious that the welfare of labor is the welfare of all.

Carrying forward his work and that of others like him, we have begun to build a system of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance to substitute for uncertainty a new security in the life of the wage-earner and his family.
(Applause)

How far we have come is shown by the patriotic resentment with which labor and the public alike are this week meeting the latest attempts of a handful of employers, politicians and newspapers to mislead and coerce labor with regard to the Social Security Act. (Applause) Here there is repetition of the arrogance and (the) ruthlessness which the operators utilized to (try to) break the solid ranks of labor when the miners fought at Armageddon (in 1902) more than thirty years ago.

No employer has a right to put his political preferences into the pay envelope. That is coercion. (Applause)
Yes, that is coercion, even if he tells the whole truth.
(Applause)

But this propaganda misrepresents by telling only half the truth. Labor and a fair-minded public must place

such tactics in a class with the coercion of the strong-arm squad and the whispering of the planted labor spy.

This pay-envelope propaganda has one clear objective -- to sabotage the Social Security Act. To sabotage that Act is to sabotage labor. Because (For) that Act, as you know, was worked out with labor and enacted with the active support of labor -- all kinds of labor. (Applause)

Now, let us analyze a little. Why do these employers seek to repeal the Social Security Act? Because under the Act they have to pay far more than half of the insurance that is given to the workers. (Applause)

Let us get these facts straight.

The Act provides for two kinds of insurance for the worker.

For that insurance both the employer and the worker pay premiums -- just as you pay premiums on any other insurance policy. Those premiums are collected in the form of the taxes that you hear so much about.

Now, the first kind of insurance covers old age. Here the employer contributes one dollar of premium for every dollar of premium contributed by the worker; (but) and both dollars are held by the Government solely for the benefit of the worker in his old age. (Applause)

In effect, we have set up a savings account for the old age of the worker. Because the employer is called upon to contribute on a fifty-fifty basis, that savings account gives exactly two dollars of security for every dollar put up by the worker. (Applause)

Now, the second kind of insurance is unemployment insurance -- to help the worker and his family over the difficult days when he loses his job. For the unemployment security of the worker, the employer under (the) this Federal law puts up the entire premium -- two dollars. (Applause) And the benefits of this unemployment insurance go one hundred per cent to the worker -- and none to the employer. But the premiums for this unemployment insurance so far as the Federal Government is concerned are paid one hundred per cent by the employer.

Now, let's add it all up. Beginning on January first next, for every one dollar which the worker is asked to put into an old age account for himself, employers are required under the Federal Act to contribute three dollars to protect the worker from both unemployment and in his old age. (Applause) That is, the worker contributes only one dollar to his old age security; he contributes nothing to his security against losing his job. But at the same time

the employer has to put up two dollars for unemployment and one dollar for old age.

Three for one! (Applause) Three for one and there's the rub. (Applause) That is what these propaganda-spreading employers object to. The record extending back several years shows that their purpose has always been to compel the worker alone to put up all the premiums both for their unemployment insurance and their old age insurance. They are now trying to frighten the worker about the worker's one-dollar premium, so that they won't have to pay their three-dollar premium. (Applause)

And so, these propagandists with allies whom I do not have to describe to you -- for you know them -- they are driven in their desperation to the contemptible, unpatriotic suggestion that some future Congress will steal these insurance funds for other purposes. And if they really believe what they say in the pay envelopes, they have no confidence in our form of government or its permanence. And it might be well for them to move to some other nation in which they have greater faith. (Applause)

I know that American workers made wise as well as strong by the achievements of John Mitchell and his successors will not be fooled by this campaign any more than they

were frightened by the strong-arm squads of the past.

John Mitchell taught labor that to win and to preserve the fruits of its victories, it must have a cool head as well as a warm heart. I know labor will refuse to be robbed of its gains -- that the progress begun by its friends will be safeguarded and carried forward, until the fuller security that is its right is won. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
SUNBURY, PENNSYLVANIA

October 29, 1936, 11.25 A.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Earle.

There were about 5,000 people in the audience.)

My friends, first of all let me thank you very much for these delightful flowers. I notice that there isn't a sunflower among them. (laughter, applause)

I am glad to come to Sunbury. Senator Guffey has been telling me that this is the original home of the incandescent lamp. That being so, I can congratulate you this year as well for having seen the light.

Also, I want to say a word to you about something I knew about last Spring. You had a flood here which made conditions very serious. As you know, the Federal Government is planning on this river and other flood rivers of the country, in cooperation with the State of Pennsylvania and with the counties and cities, for the elimination of the flood danger in the years to come.

You have shown a wonderful spirit of coming back. I am told that where this train is standing today, there was about four feet of water last Spring. I want to assure you that the Government next Spring will be undertaking some of the work of flood prevention.

I believe in the spirit and theory of cooperation between the different kinds of government we live under. That has been one of the major policies of this Administration, to help the states and localities to overcome conditions for which they are not wholly responsible. And so, the next time I come to Sunbury, I hope that this city will be flood-proof. (Applause)

Thank you very much for this warm reception. It is mighty good of you to come out. (Prolonged applause)

(The President was presented with a thermometer. He said: "It is a very nice thermometer and the prediction for next Tuesday on this thermometer is 'fair and warmer'".)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

October 29, 1936, 1.00 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Earle)

My friends of Pennsylvania:

I am glad to come here to your Capital. I am especially glad to come here as the guest of my old friends, Governor and Mrs. Earle.

Pennsylvania is at once a great industrial state, and a great commercial state, a great mining state and a great agricultural state.

I have been visiting many parts of this Commonwealth and I feel that, as a neighbor of yours besides, I know something of your problems.

The Pennsylvania farmer -- unlike the farmer in the West -- can see his own city market within a few hours' drive just like my neighbor farmers in the Hudson River Valley. And the Pennsylvania industrial worker and merchant, they know how important to their prosperity is the prosperity of their neighbors the farmers.

Pennsylvania rightly calls itself the Keystone State. Great tides of immigration have swept (over) through it. Great routes of commerce have crossed it from the very beginning -- famous wagon-roads (and) railroads and water routes from the East to the West and the North to the South and back

again. Pennsylvania knows that American commerce transcends state lines and becomes interstate and international.

But because Pennsylvania has these great problems of commerce and of industry it has, also, great human problems, and those are the problems that you and I are deeply concerned with.

The machine age has served well the men and women who use its excellent products. The new problem is to see to it that the machine age serves equally well the men and women who run (its) the machines.

And (this) that is not a problem (not) for Pennsylvania alone -- (not) nor even for industry alone. It is a problem for the nation -- and for all kinds of enterprise within the nation. If modern government is to justify itself, it must see to it that human values are not mangled and destroyed.

You and I know that that is sound morality and good religion. You and I know that it is also good business.
(Applause)

The simple fact of our dependence upon each other was either unknown or entirely ignored by the Republican leadership of the post-war period. Their doctrine was to give definite help (to) at the top and to utter pious hopes for the bottom. (Applause) Twelve years of that brought (the inevitable crash) 1929 to 1933.

When (in 1933) we came to Washington in 1933 it was our fundamental belief that faith without works is dead.

And so we acted -- not for a few of us (applause) but for all of us. And that program worked. (Applause)

But I am very much afraid that (but) the Republican leadership is still the same. I am very much afraid that it still preaches the same heresy -- class against class and region against region. (Applause)

You do not need me to tell you this. They say it themselves, loudly. (Applause) There are a dozen examples that you could use, but just take one. They are using it, for example, in what they call their market-basket campaign.

In the cities they make promises which they are careful to hide from the farmers. In the rural districts they make promises which they are careful to hide from the city dwellers. (Applause) In the cities they promise to reduce food prices for the woman who carries the market-basket. In the country they promise to raise food prices for the man who grows the contents of that market-basket on the farm. (Applause)

Now, isn't that (is) a nice fairy story. (Laughter) (But) You and I know that you can't eat your cake in the city and have your cake on the farm. (Applause) You and I know that after twelve years of that policy there wasn't any cake and there was very little bread. (Applause) The American people are through with that (kind of) emptiness and propose to remain through with it. (Applause) And I believe that.

Now, let us analyze just a little further:

The prices of farm products have risen since 1932. It's a good thing for all of us that they have risen. We set out deliberately to raise them. It was their rise that helped to start all of us on the road to recovery again. Every American home (in America) has benefitted by that.

Why, the prices the farmer was receiving in 1932 were so low that he had no cash income to buy industrial goods made in the cities. That threw people out of work in the cities. Today the farm's products bring more to the farmer. Here in Pennsylvania, for instance, cash income from farm production was forty-seven per cent higher in 1935 than in 1932. That is typical of what has happened to farmers throughout the East and, indeed, throughout the Nation. The farmer today is able to buy more from the city. That means more people are at work in the cities, and that in turn means that the city dwellers are buying more farm produce. (Applause)

And that, incidentally, is why the consumer's pocketbook has filled up faster than the price of food has gone up. The housewife pays more money for what she buys, but she has more money to buy it with (applause) -- and she has more money left over after she has bought. (Applause) Nation-wide facts and figures prove (this) that. Let us take (a look at these figures) another example.

From 1929 to 1932 food prices in the United States

dropped thirty-five per cent, but, understand this: During that same period factory payrolls (in the same period) went down fifty-eight per cent. And that made a large hole in the workers' market-basket.

The average city family paid less for what it bought in those years. But that family had still less with which to buy. (Applause)

Now, it is true that some retail food prices have risen higher than others. Other food prices have advanced very little. To be fair you have to strike an average. The average advance of food costs since 1932 is twenty-four per cent. (-- a quarter more than they were four years ago.)

But compare that -- again using average figures for the country -- with the factory payrolls. These have gone up since 1933, in the Spring, not over twenty-four per cent but over 77 per cent. (Applause) And if you take the average of all city dwellers, their incomes have gone up faster and (farther) further than food prices have gone up. And so, my friends, to sum up -- the Republican market-basket of 1932 cost less but the American consumer did not have the cash to fill it. Our market-basket in 1936 has much in it because people have money in their pockets to fill it with. (Applause)

Now, let us examine a little further: It is true that there is often too wide a spread between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays. For that neither the farmer

nor the consumer is responsible, (and) but both the farmer and the consumer suffer.

And so, we are engaged very definitely in seeking to solve (solving) that difficulty. First, we are vigilant and on guard against monopolies, the kind of monopolies which are contrary to sound public policy even though they are not actually illegal. Secondly, we are seeking new means to eliminate waste, (and) to eliminate unnecessary duplication in (distribution) distributing the food-supply of the nation, doing it for the benefit of both producer and the consumer.

And so we have to look and shall continue in the next four years to look (applause) at this problem -- we shall continue to look at it from the national point of view.

Through twelve years the Republicans proved that sectionalism will not work. We have proved in three and a half years that interdependence (does) and unity will work.

I take it that giving the farmer of Dauphin or Lancaster County a good break has given a good break to the steel worker of Pittsburgh, the coal miner of Scranton, the white collar or factory worker of Philadelphia. And giving California, Minnesota and Texas a good break gives a good break to Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey.

Yes, (ours has been a program of) our program has been one for all and all for one. Coming down the river this morning from Wilkes Barre, I have been talking with your Governor about cooperation, cooperation in the problems of

the miners of the state, cooperation in the great flood control problems of the state, cooperation in farming. We have agreed, your Governor and I, -- and most of the Governors of the States are in complete accord -- we are agreed that we can make cooperation between local government and state government and Federal government a success. This program of one for all and all for one (that doctrine) has given us recovery. Continuing that practice will continue recovery.

You all remember, I suppose Harrisburg as well as any city in the United States, that good old Republican slogan that was trotted out and polished up for every political campaign -- the slogan of "the full dinner pail." And, indeed, we know that the Republican leaders themselves were responsible for its sad end. (Applause) Yes, down to 1933, the full dinner pail turned out to be the empty market-basket.

And, my friends, I know that the American people will not return to power those leaders who emptied the national market-basket. I (know) am very confident that the American people will go forward with those who are succeeding in filling it once more. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY
October 29, 1936, 5.15 P.M.

(There were about 80,000 people in the audience.)

Mr. Mayor, my friends of Camden:

I am very, very grateful to you and to your Civic Government for naming this Plaza in my honor. It is not very long ago that I read that some of the Federal funds intended for work relief were to be used to transform the plaza into a beautiful park, and it was suggested at that time that here is one case where grass has been made to grow in the city streets. (Laughter)

I have come to Camden today for (one perfectly valid) another very good reason: it is the principal city of southern New Jersey, and, so far as I recollect in a somewhat varied experience, I have never made a speech here before.

Because Camden is a good cross-section of many different types of people who earn their living -- commuters, white collar workers, factory workers, (and) shipyard workers -- I want to say a few words about a subject which affects (all) every one of you -- in your own lives and the lives of your families, the subject of human security.

We have heard much about it during the last three and a half years for the very simple reason that (we have needed it) the Nation has needed human security. We have needed it for the farmer and for the city dweller alike.

You who work in offices or factories or shipyards are hit when business slumps. Your future is tied up with the stability of the business in which you work.

Holding on to a job in these past few years was not the only problem you faced. (in the depression) You had to think of your families. (and) You had to think of your homes. You had to think of the savings in the bank. You had to think about your modest investments and your insurance policies, and your mortgage payments. None of these things (then was safe) was safe in those days.

Today things are very different. Business of all kinds has begun to get in the clear. You know that your jobs are safer -- that there are more jobs to go around and better pay for jobs. The threat to your savings, your investments, your insurance policies and your homes is being removed.

(None of this came by chance.) Now, my friends, that did not happen by any mere chance. It came because your Government refused to leave it to mere chance. It

came because your Administration thought things through -- thought of things as a whole -- planned a balanced national economy and acted in a score of ways to bring it to pass. Today I want to mention only two examples out of many.

First, your savings. We did not leave them to chance. Today for the first time your deposits in every national bank and in eight thousand state banks throughout the country are insured up to five thousand dollars -- a total of forty-nine million accounts. In other words, ninety-eight and a half per cent of all bank accounts in these banks are insured. Never in all our history have we had as sound a banking structure as today. And I (very much) doubt very much if any of you will vote to go back to the unsafe banking conditions of 1932. (Applause)

And once more, I remind the Nation that this month of October marks the end of one whole year in which there was not a single national bank failure -- the first twelve-month period in fifty-five years that was free from such failures.

The other example I want to say a word about relates to the stability of what (you and) I call values. For twelve years before this Administration came into office, values of almost every kind of property were running

up and down the scale like the mercury in a thermometer on a (day in) March day. Raw material prices were varying four hundred and five hundred and six hundred per cent. Real estate was alternately booming and collapsing.

As a result, the assets behind (insurance policies) everything you and I had were better one month and poorer the next. Bankers did not know what their portfolios would be worth (from one month to) the next month. Commercial concerns had no assurance of the value of their bills receivable. Contractors could make only wild guesses in submitting their bids. Many stocks and bonds were worth crazy prices one month and very little the next. It is the old story, as you know.

After the crash and after the long years of despair which followed it, one prayer went up from the American people -- they wanted something to tie to -- they sought stability because they knew that without stability they could not have security.

It has been our aim first of all to restore values to a normal and proper level. It is our aim to maintain them at a normal and proper level. In that way we believe there will be a greater security for the average American family no matter what may be the occupation of the members of that family.

My friends, today in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania,
I spoke very briefly in regard to this great Social Secur-
ity law which goes into effect next year. I spoke about
those few business concerns and those few newspapers which
are spreading false rumors in regards to this great Act.
I told the people of Pennsylvania that for every dollar
which the worker is asked to put into the fund under this
law -- in other words, a premium of insurance against old
age -- the employer is required to put in another dollar.

In addition to that, there is another form of
insurance -- unemployment insurance -- and the rate on
that is paid solely by the employer and not by the worker.
In other words, under that form of insurance which people
are going to get, you people are going to pay one dollar
of premium and your employers are going to pay three dol-
lars. Three to one, there is the rub. That is what the
propaganda mongers are objecting to. Not satisfied with
that, they are endeavoring to spread one more story, the
unpatriotic suggestion that some future Congress is going
to steal these insurance funds for their own pockets.

And if these employers really believe what they
are saying in the pay envelopes, it proves that they have
no confidence in our form of government. I suggest to

them that it might be well for them to move to some other nation in which they have a greater faith. (Applause)

Yes, your Administration has as its great (our) objective for all our citizens, in the cities and on the farms, in the West, in the South and the East, an objective (is to give) of greater permanence (to) of employment, safety (to) of our earnings, protection to the home and a better security (to) for the average man and his family. (That can be done. You and I will carry on until it is done.) That objective can and will be attained. You and I are going to carry on until it is done. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
October 29, 1936, 6.45 P.M.

(There were about 50,000 people in the audience.)

Save for my own home State of New York, this meeting in Wilmington marks the close of my campaign for the Presidency.

It seems appropriate that on this occasion I should make no political speech because I can better describe the kind of liberty which our Administration has sought and continues to seek by reading to you the simple words of a great President who believed in (that) the kind of liberty that we believe in -- the great President who preserved the American Union. (Applause)

(They) Those words are from the speech made by President Abraham Lincoln at the Sanitary Fair in Baltimore in 1864. (Applause) And I ask that you good people give heed to these words for, although they are three-quarters of a century old, yet I think you will find that they apply to 1936. Abraham Lincoln said this:

"The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now,

are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names -- liberty and tyranny." (Applause)

And then Abraham Lincoln used this homely example. He said: (I am still reading the words of President Lincoln --)

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty, * * * *. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures, * * *, and all professing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are

daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty."

And, in closing, Lincoln said this:

"Recently, as it seems, the people * * * have been doing something to define liberty, and thanks to them that, in what they have done, the wolf's dictionary has been repudiated."

My friends, today, in 1936, the people have been doing something to define liberty. And the wolf's dictionary has again been repudiated. (Applause)

(Those are Lincoln's words. They apply today as they did then.) What Abraham Lincoln said three-quarters of a century ago applies today as it did then. The people, men and women, of the City of Wilmington and the State of Delaware will, I think, appreciate their significance in the same measure as men and women in every (other) part of the (Union) United States.

And that is why, my friends, on Tuesday evening next I expect to get a message from the State of Delaware telling me that all is well. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE CONCOURSE PLAZA HOTEL
BRONX, N. Y.
October 31, 1936, 2.30 P. M.

Ladies and gentlemen:

No campaign would be complete without this luncheon. (Applause)

I am not only always glad to come here on the Saturday before election, which I have done many times, but when I come here I consider myself as one of the god-fathers of the Bronx.

There is a story connected with that which ought to be a part of the history of this County. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, when I was in the Legislature, the Bronx County Bill came up and there was a good deal of division in the ranks of the Party at that time as to whether there should be a separate county in the Bronx or not. I, being a neighbor on the north, was very strongly in favor of the Bill and, when it came up on the floor of the Senate, it came up in such way that it caught those of us who were in favor of it somewhat by surprise, and a number of our adherents were away. They started to force a vote on us and we, trying a parliamentary device, started to walk out of

the Senate Chamber.

There was presiding over the Senate Chamber that day an old gentleman from upstate New York. They tried to lock the doors of the Senate Chamber and to keep us from going out and thus preventing a quorum. The old gentleman banged on the desk, and somebody said, hoping for a parliamentary rule, "By what right are you keeping us in this Chamber?" Whereupon the old gentleman banged again and said, "We are keeping you here by the right of major force." (Laughter, applause)

Well, we were defeated that day but, shortly thereafter, the Bill came up again and that time right prevailed over might and Bronx became a county. (Applause)

I wish that all of you could have been with me during these past two months travelling around the country and seeing the enormous interest in every community I have visited in many, many states -- an interest in this election that I believe is more fundamental, more deep-seated, than in any previous election in which I have taken part.

It shows me that men and women are thinking more deeply than ever before. They are going to vote on Tuesday not merely out of gratitude for what has occurred in this country in the last four years, they are going to vote

because they believe that our progress for social security and better living conditions for the American people must continue.

And so, like your Governor, like our Governor, I am approaching next Tuesday in a spirit of real confidence because I believe very firmly that this outpouring of voters, this tremendous interest in public questions, can mean only one thing, and you and I can guess what that is.

I have but one more formal speech between now and Tuesday and it is not completely written yet. That is why I shall have to forego the pleasure of staying on this afternoon and listening to the speeches of the candidates from this County and the candidates on the State ticket. I wish that I might be with you and, although it is probably my last political campaign as a candidate, I hope to be with you on other Saturday luncheons before election. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
NEW YORK CITY
October 31, 1936, 9.15 P.M.

Senator Wagner, Governor Lehman, ladies and gentlemen:

On the eve of a national election, it is well for us to stop for a moment and analyze calmly and without prejudice the effect on our Nation of a victory by either of the major political parties.

The problem of the electorate is far deeper, far more vital than the continuance in the Presidency of any individual. For the greater issue goes beyond units of humanity -- it goes to humanity itself.

In 1932 the issue was the restoration of American democracy; and the American people were in a mood to win. They did win. (Applause) In 1936 the issue is the preservation of their victory. Again they are in a mood to win. (Applause) (Again they will win.)

More than four years ago in accepting the Democratic nomination in Chicago, I said: "Give me your help not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people." (Applause)

And we know tonight that the banners of that crusade still fly in the (van) forefront of a Nation that is still on the march.

It is needless to repeat the details of the program which this Administration has been hammering out on the anvils of experience. No amount of misrepresentation or statistical contortion can conceal or blur or smear that record. ("Right." Applause) Neither the attacks of unscrupulous enemies nor the exaggerations of over-zealous friends will serve to mislead (the American) our people. (Applause)

What was our hope in 1932? Above all other things the American people wanted peace. They wanted peace of mind instead of gnawing fear.

First, they sought escape from the personal terror which had stalked them for three years. They wanted the peace that comes from security in their homes -- safety for their savings -- permanence in their jobs -- a fair profit from their enterprise.

Next, they wanted peace in the community -- the peace that springs from the ability to meet the needs of community life -- schools, playgrounds, parks, sanitation, highways -- those things which are expected of solvent

local government. They sought escape from the disintegration and the bankruptcy (in) of local and state affairs.

They (also) sought also peace within the Nation -- protection of their currency, fairer wages, the ending of long hours of toil, the abolition of child labor, the elimination of wild-cat speculation, the safety of their children from kidnappers.

And, finally, they sought peace with other Nations -- peace in a world of unrest. (Applause) The nation knows that I hate war, (applause) and I know that the Nation hates war. (Applause)

And so I submit to you a record of peace; and on that record a well-founded expectation for future peace -- peace for the individual, peace for the community, peace for the Nation, and peace with the world. (Applause)

Tonight I call the roll -- the roll of honor of those who stood with us in 1932 and still stand with us today. (Applause)

Written on (it) that roll of honor are the names of millions who never had a chance -- men at starvation wages, women in sweatshops, children at looms.

Written on it are the names of those who despaired, young men and young women for whom opportunity had become a will-o'-the-wisp.

Written on it are the names of farmers whose acres yielded only bitterness, business men whose books were portents of disaster -- home owners who were faced with eviction -- frugal citizens whose savings were insecure.

Written there in large letters are the names of countless other Americans of all parties and all faiths -- Americans who had eyes to see and hearts to understand -- whose consciences were burdened because too many of their (fellows) fellow beings were burdened -- who looked on these things four years ago and said, "This can be changed. We will change it." (Applause)

We still lead that army in 1936. They stood with us then because in 1932 they believed. They stand with us today, in 1936, because they know. And with them stand millions (applause) of new recruits who have come to know. (Applause)

Their hopes have become our record.

We have not come (this) thus far without a struggle and I assure you that we cannot go further without a struggle. (Applause)

For twelve years (this) our Nation was afflicted with hear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing government.

(Applause) The Nation looked to that government but the government looked away. (Laughter, applause) Nine mocking years with the golden calf and three long years of the scourge! Nine crazy years at the ticker and three long years in the headlines! (Applause) Nine mad years of mirage and three long years of despair! And, my friends, powerful influences strive today to restore that kind of government with its doctrine that that government is best which is most indifferent to mankind.

For nearly four years now you have had an Administration which instead of twirling its thumbs has rolled up its sleeves. (Applause) And I can assure you that we will keep our sleeves rolled up. (Applause)

We had to struggle with the old enemies of peace -- business and financial monopoly, speculation, reckless banking, class antagonism, sectionalism, war profiteering.

They had begun to consider the Government of the United States as a mere appendage to their own affairs. We know now that government by organized money is just as dangerous as government by organized mob. (Applause)

Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate for me -- and I welcome their hatred. (Applause)

I should like to have it said of my first Administration that in it the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match. I should like to have it said of my second Administration that in it these forces met their master. (Applause)

And, my friends, the American people know from a four-year record that today there is only one entrance to the White House -- and that is by the front door. (Applause) Since March 4, 1933 there has been only one passkey to the White House. I have carried that key in my pocket. (Applause) It is there tonight. So long as I am President, it will remain in my pocket. (Applause)

But, those who used to have passkeys are not happy. (Applause) Some of them are desperate. Only desperate men with their backs to the wall would descend so far below the level of decent citizenship as to foster the current pay-envelope campaign against America's working people. (Boos) Only reckless men, heedless of consequences, would risk the disruption of the hope for a new peace between worker and employer by returning to the tactics of the labor spy. (Boos)

Here is an amazing paradox! The very employers and politicians and newspapers who talk most loudly of

class antagonism and the destruction of the American system now undermine that system by this attempt to coerce the votes of the wage earners of this country. It is the 1936 version of the old threat to close down the factory or the office if a particular candidate does not win. It is an old strategy of tyrants to delude their victims into fighting their battles for them. (Applause)

Every message in a pay envelope, even if it is the truth, is a command to vote according to the will of the employer. But this propaganda is worse -- it is deceit.

They tell the worker that his wage will be reduced by a contribution to some vague form of old-age insurance. But they carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar of premium he pays for that insurance, the employer pays another dollar. That omission is deceit.

They carefully conceal from him the fact that under the federal law, he receives another insurance policy to help him if he loses his job, and that the premium of that policy is paid 100% by the employer and not one cent by the worker. (Applause) But they do not tell him that the insurance policy that is bought for him is far more favorable to him than any policy that any private insurance company could possibly afford to issue. And that omission is deceit.

They imply to him that he pays all the cost of both forms of insurance. They carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar put up by him his employer puts up three dollars -- three for one. And that omission is deceit. (Applause)

But they are guilty of more than deceit. When they imply that the reserves thus created against both these policies will be stolen by some future Congress -- diverted to some wholly foreign purpose, they attack the integrity and honor of American Government itself. (Applause) Those who suggest that, are already aliens to the spirit of American democracy. Let them emigrate and try their lot under some foreign (government) flag in which they have more confidence. (Applause)

The fraudulent nature of this attempt is well shown by the record of votes on the passage of the Social Security Act. In addition to an overwhelming majority of Democrats in both Houses, seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for it and only eighteen against it and fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against it. Where does this last-minute drive of the Republican leadership leave these Republican Representatives and Senators who helped to enact (this) the law? (Applause)

I am sure that the vast majority of law-abiding business men who are not parties to this propaganda fully appreciate the extent of the threat to honest business contained in this coercion.

I have expressed indignation at this form of campaigning and I am confident that the overwhelming majority of employers, workers and the general public share that indignation and will show it at the polls on Tuesday next.
(Applause)

But, aside from this phase of it, I prefer to remember this campaign not as bitter but only as hard-fought. There should be no bitterness or hate where the sole thought is the welfare of the United States of America. (Applause)
No man can occupy the office of President without realizing that he is President of all the people.

It is because I have sought to think in terms of the whole Nation that I am confident that today, just as four years ago, the people want more than promises. (Applause)

And our vision for the future contains more than promises. (Applause)

This is our answer to those who, silent about their own plans, ask us to state our objectives. (Applause)

Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America (applause) -- to reduce hours that are over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, and to wipe out sweatshops. Of course we will continue every effort to end monopoly in business, to support collective bargaining, to stop unfair competition, and to abolish dishonorable trade practices. (Applause) And for all these we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

Of course we will continue to work for cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America, for better and cheaper transportation, for low interest rates, for sounder home financing, for better banking, for the regulation of security issues, for reciprocal trade among nations, for the wiping out of slums. For all these we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. (Applause) With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation, for the conservation of water all the way from its source to the sea, for drought

control and flood control, for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a (definite) reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of (farmer) farm cooperatives, for crop insurance and for a stable food supply for the Nation. For all these too we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed because we prefer useful work to the pauperism of a dole. (Applause)

Here and now I want to make myself clear about those who disparage their fellow citizens on the relief rolls. They say that those on relief are not merely jobless -- (that) they say they are worthless. Their solution for the relief problem is to end relief -- to purge the rolls by starvation. To use the language of the stock broker, our needy unemployed would be cared for when, as, and if some fairy godmother should happen to come on the scene.

But you and I will continue to refuse to accept that estimate of our unemployed fellow Americans. Your Government is still on the same side of the street with the Good Samaritan and not with those who pass by on the other side. (Applause)

(Again) To go on -- what of our objectives?

Of course we will continue our efforts for young men and women so that they may obtain an education and an opportunity to put it to use. (Applause) Of course, we will continue our help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- our insurance for the unemployed -- our security for the aged. Of course we will continue to protect the consumer against unnecessary price spreads, against the costs that are added by monopoly and speculation. We will continue our successful efforts to increase his purchasing power and to keep it constant.

And for these things, too, and for (others) a multitude of things like them we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

All this -- all these objectives -- spell peace at home. All our actions, all our ideals, spell also peace with other nations. (Applause)

Today there is war and rumor of war. We want none of it. (Applause) But while we guard our shores against threats of war, we will continue to remove the causes of unrest and antagonism at home which might make our people easier victims to those for whom foreign war is profitable. And, you know well that those who stand to profit by war are not on our side in this campaign. (Applause)

"Peace on earth, good-will toward men" -- democracy must cling to that message. For it is my very deep

conviction that democracy cannot live without that true religion which gives a nation a sense of justice and of moral purpose. Above our political forums, above our market places stand the altars of our faith -- altars on which burn the fires of devotion that maintain all that is best in us and all that is best in our Nation.

We have need of that devotion today. It is that which makes it possible for government to persuade those who are mentally prepared to fight each other to go on instead, to work for and to sacrifice for each other. And that is why we need to say with the old Prophet -- "What doth the Lord require of thee -- but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God." (Applause) That is why the recovery we seek, the recovery we are winning, is more than economic. In it are included justice and love and humility -- not for ourselves as individuals alone, but for our Nation. That is the road to peace. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
BEACON, NEW YORK
November 2, 1936, 1.50 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Mr. Morgan Hoyt, Chairman. There were about 7,000 people in the audience.)

My old friends and neighbors:

I did not come down here to make a political speech. As you know, it has been one of my customs, starting in the year 1910, which is before any of these children (indicating) were born, to come down here to Beacon the day before election. (Applause)

I have not had as many chances as I would like to have had in the last four years to be in Dutchess County. But when I do come down I am reminded of the old days when Morgan Hoyt used to campaign from house to house in what was then Fishkill Landing and Mattawan. (?)

I am particularly happy not only to see from these signs that there are a lot more people at work than there were four years ago, but to hear also that the factories in Beacon are running two shifts.

It is good to come here and to say how do you do to you, my old neighbors. I hope to come here very often in the days to come. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
NEWBURGH, NEW YORK
November 2, 1936

(There were about 10,000 people in the audience.)

My friends, I am very glad to come back to Newburgh.

You know, I have a kind of sentiment about Newburgh and Orange County which I do not have with respect to any other County in the State except Dutchess. The reason for that is that one-half of me comes from Orange County.

I am not here to talk politics. I will merely remark that four years ago, the day before election, I drove through Newburgh. And I stopped in this identical spot under this identical banner which crosses the street. (Laughter, applause) (The President was referring to a Republican campaign banner of large size which was hung from one side of the street to the other.)

I recognize it well. The names are the only things that are different on it. Four years ago it brought me much luck. (Applause)

I am glad that Newburgh is better off than it was that last trip of mine. I hear that employment has picked up and I have heard also about your new Junior High School

and a lot of other improvements that have been made. As you know, these improvements have been made possible by the policy of the Government of trying to put people to work on useful projects in the different communities of the country.

I am very happy that the factories of Newburgh, like the factories of Poughkeepsie and Beacon, are running full time and that there more people employed and that there are more people going to be employed.

And so, my friends, I have only come here just to say "how do you do" to you. I hope to come back here, I need not tell you, very often in the days to come, for I shall always remember that you are my neighbors. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
KINGSTON, NEW YORK
November 2, 1936, 3.25 P.M.

My friends, I could not pass up a good, old custom. (Applause)

This is the fifth time that I have come over to Kingston and Ulster County the day before election.

And I am over here not merely because a lot of my ancestors lived in Ulster County and I have got a lot of cousins over here, but also because, during the last four years, I have had to stick so much in Washington that I have not had much chance to get around and see my neighbors on the Hudson River.

I am glad today, driving down through Poughkeepsie and Wappingers Falls, and Beacon, and Newburgh, and up here through Marlboro and Highland, and coming here, I am glad to note that things are really better than they were four years ago. (Applause)

I am not going to talk politics but I do hope and I do believe that things will get still better in the next four years.

And so, let me thank you for coming out and giving me this reception. I hope to see you all again very soon.

Many thanks. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
RHINEBECK, NEW YORK
November 2, 1936, 4.10 P.M.

(There were about 1,500 people in the audience.)
Mr. Crowley, a resident of Rhinebeck, introduced the President, explaining why, as a life-long Republican, he was going to vote for the President.)

My friends, you know I do not come to Rhinebeck to make a political speech.

Most of you people have heard me speak at Rhinebeck many, many times before, but I could not forego the chance to come here and say, "how do you do" to my old neighbors.

This is the fifth time in my life that I have made what might be called "the circle", leaving from Hyde Park and driving down on this side of the River to Beacon, going across to Newburgh and then up on the other side to Kingston and then to Rhinebeck. It is the fifth time and I believe it is going to be as lucky as it has been the last three times. (Applause)

And so, I just want to say "how do you do" to you again, and I hope that possibly in the next four years, when the conditions that Mr. Crowley has spoken of are a little easier in the White House, I shall be able to spend

a little bit more of my time in Dutchess County. (Ap-
plause)

Thank you very much. I hope you will all vote,
regardless of party. (Prolonged applause)

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT POUGHKEEPSIE, DUTCHESS COUNTY, NEW YORK

November 2, 1936

My friends of Poughkeepsie: I was quite certain that John Mack (the President was introduced by Judge Mack) would pull something like that.

I was thinking this afternoon about the first political speech that I made in this city away back in 1910. And it was a terrible speech.

I decided not long after 1910 that I would never make another political speech in the City of Poughkeepsie for the very good reason that everybody knows me. And so, in spite of newspaper headlines -- and you and I have come to discriminate where they are concerned -- in spite of all that I am not going to make a political speech tonight. I am just going to tell you a few things that are on my chest and in my heart at the end of this campaign.

I have visited a great number of states. I have been in the South; I have been in the Middle West; I have been in the far west; I have been in New England. And I have never seen a political campaign in 25 years -- 26 years -- where I could feel inside of me that people all over the country were taking as great and as intelligent an interest in the problems of Government.

One of the good things that came out of the depression

was the fact that men and women, rich and poor, in every part of the country, have begun to study the future of America. They have been wondering whether we should do this, or that, or the other thing; and back of it all there has lain, so far as I can see, two very definite thoughts in people's minds. The first is to retain our American form of Government -- the democratic system, spelled with a small "d" -- the representative system of Government -- and the other thing that I have carried away with me in this campaign is the thought that people want progress; that there have been a great many things in the past that we did not do, that we did not arrive at, but that with a great deal of modern knowledge and modern experience the time has come in the United States to accomplish more things for the average citizen.

People in the past have gone along with the idea that we could do without a great many things such, for instance, as security. Well, "security" means a kind of feeling within our individual selves that we have lacked all through the course of history. We have had to take our chance about our old age in days past. We have had to take our chance with depressions and boom times. We have had to take a chance on our jobs. We have had to take a chance on buying our homes.

And I have believed for a great many years that the time has come in our civilization when a great many of

these chances should be eliminated from our lives.

It has not been so much a question of party politics. Most of us would have followed any responsible leader who could have shown to the people of this country that he would seek to eliminate at least some of those chances of life, some of those hardships that have come to a lot of people through no fault of their own.

I know conditions in this city and in this county pretty well. I have lived here for fifty-four years. And all through my life, ever since I have been of age to take any part in public affairs, which is at least a quarter of a century, I have been noticing a great many hardships that have affected the people of the City and the County. As I got older and was able to travel around the country I found that the same kind of hardships affected people in every other community and county and state.

And that is why, as some of you who know me can perhaps realize, I have tried for a good many years to work for the elimination of these hardships.

We cannot reach a millenium or Utopia in any four years, or eight years, but at least I have felt that people in responsible positions ought to start the ball rolling, that they ought to make an effort, through legislation and through public opinion, in a perfectly normal, sane, sensible way, to provide security -- security for people within themselves so that they would not individually worry --

security for their families, security for their homes and a greater security for their jobs. And, incidentally, a greater security for the people who employ them.

That has been the objective of mine for perhaps twenty-five years and I believe that in these past few years we have taken steps that are going to help the American people toward a greater security within the framework of the American Government.

And so, my friends, that is perhaps a simple expression of a simple philosophy. I think most of you agree with the philosophy at least. Everybody in public office makes mistakes. Every party in power makes mistakes. But, in the last analysis, the problem before the voters of the country, not only tomorrow but next year and the year after that, is whether they want to vote for those people who they believe will, more greatly than the other people, go along towards carrying out that expression of a greater physical and mental and spiritual security for the people of this country.

Tonight at eleven o'clock I am speaking on a nation-wide broadcast -- and again the newspapers have said it is an appeal for votes. It is not. It is an appeal for people in this nation to go to the polls -- not an appeal to vote any ticket. It is an appeal to exercise their right as American citizens.

We have come a long way in 150 years. About a block from where I stand -- up there on the corner of Main Street -- there was a little old stone building and in the year 1788 there was held there the Constitution Convention of the State of New York. My great, great-grandfather was a member of that Convention. The question was, Should New York ratify the Federal Constitution? It was the year before the Federal government was set up and George Washington was inaugurated our first President. At that time the problem before this Convention in Poughkeepsie was whether the State of New York would ratify, in the absence of a Bill of Rights, the Constitution as it was laid down.

And, finally, the delegates from this state, up there in the little old stone building, ratified it only on this condition: "In full faith and confidence that a Bill of Rights would be added to the Constitution after the country was started under the new form of Government." And, largely because of the insistence of the State of New York in demanding a Bill of Rights, almost immediately the new government submitted to the States the first Ten Amendments to the United States Constitution.

And so you will see that not only in my own person but also by inheritance I know something not only about the Constitution of the United States but also about the Bill of Rights.

And in those days, at the time of the first election, after the Constitution was ratified and the government was set up, it is interesting for us to note that very few men -- of course there were no women voting in those days -- comparatively few men voted. The reason for that was that in the early days of the United States the franchise was limited to property holders. Most of this Dutchess County of ours in the early days of the Republic was inhabited by tenant farmers. A tenant farmer could not vote because he was not a freeholder and only freeholders could vote in this and the other counties of the State of New York and the other young states.

Today we have a very different proposition. The franchise is universal. You do not have to be the owner of real estate in order to vote. You do not have to be just a man in order to vote.

The result is that whereas in the early days of the nation, with this limited franchise, the results of an election could not be called the rule of the majority, because so few people voted -- only property holders. Today you have a different situation and by midnight tomorrow night, in all probability, whatever the result is, it will be definitely, clearly, and conclusively the will of the majority.

In the Election of 1932, about forty million voters

in the United States voted. This year there are about fifty-five million Americans who are eligible to vote tomorrow. I want to express the hope that as many as possible of those fifty-five million will go to the polls in order that we may have a clear-cut answer to the problems which will be voted on.

Yes, I go back a good many years in this City. I can remember when, in the Spring, the streets were extremely muddy. I can remember when electric lights first came to Poughkeepsie. And I can remember the first telephone that was put in our house at Hyde Park, much to the horror of most of the family. I can remember when a telegram came the entire household quaked, because telegrams were seldom sent in those days unless someone died. And, taking it by and large, in those 40 or 50 years, I think we have made a good deal of progress, not only in other parts of the country, but right here in this City and County and that is one reason why I am terribly proud of good old Dutchess, whether they vote for me or not.

And so, I am not asking any of you to vote for me, but I am expressing this thought: I hope very much that Dutchess County tomorrow will be found on the same side as the majority of the United States.

Goodnight and good luck.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROADCAST FROM HIS HYDE PARK HOME
Election Eve, November 2, 1936, 11.00 P. M.

My friends:

I have come home to my own county to vote with my fellow-townsmen. My people have voted here in Dutchess County for more than a century. And I cast my first vote here in 1903.

Tomorrow fifty-five million Americans are eligible to vote. I hope that all of those fifty-five million will vote.

I like to think of these millions as individual citizens from Maine to the southern tip of California, from Key West to Puget Sound -- farmers who stop their fall plowing long enough to drive into town with their wives -- wage earners stopping on the way to work or the way home -- business and professional men and women -- town and city housewives -- and that great company of youth for whom this year's first vote will be a great adventure.

Americans have had to put up with a good many things in the course of our history. But the only rule that we have ever put up with is the rule of the majority.

That is the only rule we ever will put up with. Spelled with a small "d" we are all of us democrats.

In some places in the world the tides are running against democracy. But our faith has not been unsettled. We believe in democracy because of our traditions. But we believe in it even more because of our experience.

Here in the United States we have been a long time at the business of self-government. The longer we are at it the more certain we become that we can continue to govern ourselves -- that progress is on the side of majority rule -- that if mistakes are to be made we prefer to make them ourselves and to do our own correcting.

When you and I stand in line tomorrow for our turn at the polls we will stand in a line (which) that reaches back across the entire history of our nation.

Washington stood in that line and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln. And in later days Cleveland stood there and Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. All these -- in their day -- waited their turn to vote. And rubbing elbows with them -- their voting equals -- is a long succession of American citizens whose names are not known to history but who, by their vote, helped to make history.

Every man and (every) woman who has voted in the past has had a hand in the making of the United States of the present. Every man and woman who votes tomorrow will have a hand in the making of the United States of the future. To refuse to vote is to say: "I am not interested in the United States of the future."

We who live in a free America know that our democracy is not perfect. But we are beginning to know also that -- in self-government as in many other things -- progress comes from experience. People do not become good citizens by mandate. They become good citizens by the exercise of their citizenship and by the discussions, the reading, the campaign give-and-take which help them to make up their minds how to exercise that citizenship.

Not only are people voting in larger numbers this year. They also know more this year than ever before about the real issues. They are thinking for themselves. They listen to both sides. They no longer accept at face value opinions or even statements from newspapers, from political spokesmen and from the so-called leaders of their communities. They insist on checking up.

I doubt if there was ever more downright political intelligence at the average American fireside than there is today.

For a century and a half we have had here free education and a free press, free public forums and a free pulpit. For more than a decade we have had a free radio. The American citizen of 1936, therefore, is a product of free institutions. His mind has been sharpened by the exercise of freedom. That is why I have no fear -- either of the threats of demagogues or the ambitions of dictators. Neither can get far nor long thrive among a people who have learned to think for themselves and who have the courage to act as they think.

This year they have thought things through to a point where the eternal simplicities mean more than the fuzz-buzz of technical talk. They know that the important thing is the spirit in which government will face problems as they come up, and the values it will seek to preserve or to enhance. And at bottom those are the things that count.

Still another thing heartens me. This year, not only are more people voting, not only have people thought things through more carefully; but more people in all parties have assumed the obligation of citizens to get out and work in the political processes by which democracy maintains itself.

Nearly six months ago I said: "I make this specific recommendation -- that each and every one of you who is interested in obtaining the facts and in spreading those facts abroad, each and every one of you interested in getting at the truth that lies somewhere behind the smoke-screen of charges and countercharges of a national campaign, constitute yourself a committee of one."

And hundreds of thousands have responded to that suggestion. Tonight I salute those committees of one -- not only with personal gratitude but with the gratitude of a democracy that can only function if its people are willing to take honorable part in it.

And I also commend those who have worked in a similar honorable way in the opposition. They too have helped the public to understand the issues before it, and that is a service to democracy too.

I confidently look forward to their continued cooperation in the service of democracy. On Saturday night I said that "there should be no bitterness or hate where the sole thought is the welfare of the United States of America". That applies to men and women in all parties. It is true, tonight, on the eve of election. It will be true after the election.

Whoever is elected tomorrow will become the President of all the people. It will be his concern to meet the problems of all the people with an understanding mind and with no trace of partisan feeling.

Any President should welcome any American citizen or group of citizens who can offer constructive suggestions for the management of government or for the improvement of laws.

Society needs constant vigilance and the interest of individual men and women.

And when you go to the ballot box tomorrow, do not be afraid to vote as you think best for the kind of a world you want to have. There need be no strings on any of us in the polling place.

A man or woman in the polling booth is his or her own boss. There once was a time when the ballot was not secret. That is not so today. How a citizen votes is the citizen's own business. No one will fire you because you vote contrary to his wishes or instructions. No one will know how you vote. And don't let anyone intimidate you or coerce you by telling you otherwise.

In the polling booth we are all equals.

It is an experience in responsibility and humility to be permitted, as President, to know and share the

hopes and the difficulties, the patience and the courage, the victories and the defeats of this great people.

Sometimes men wonder overmuch what they will receive for what they are giving in the service of a democracy -- whether it is worth the cost to share in that struggle which is a part of the business of representative government. But the reward of that effort is to feel that they have been a part of great things -- that they have helped to build -- that they have had their share in the great battles of their generation.

However large or small our part is, we can all feel with Theodore Roosevelt who said many years ago: "It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes short again and again; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumphs of high achievement; and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly; so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither defeat nor victory."

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
HYDE PARK, NEW YORK
November 5, 1936, 10.45 P.M.

It is mighty good of you all to come down to-night. That sign (indicating a sign which read "As Maine goes, so goes Vermont and our own old little Dutchess") is all right and it is my fault. It is the first case in the campaign where I did not take the advice of Jim Farley. He suggested that I make a trip into Vermont and Maine and instead of that I came back to the third election district of Hyde Park. You know what happened.

I am going back to Washington tonight because I have to go back to trying to balance the Budget. The next step, a week from Tuesday night, is that I'm going to get a cruiser and get away from human beings as far as I possibly can. At night I am going to sleep and in the day time I am going to lie in the sun, and when I return it will be near Christmas time and when I think of Christmas, I think of the new Congress and the Christmas present that I am preparing for them.

When I get back here again, it will be pretty close to New Years and maybe we can have, for political

reasons, another deep snow that ought to cover the stone walls such as we had when I was here that time a year ago.

I talked to Jim Townsend today and told him that if we lived for fifteen or twenty years more, we would be able to take off that sign. That little remark about Democratic Dutchess. Before we are going to die we will make the county Democratic.

Good night, and I hope we will meet again very soon.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
UNION STATION PLAZA, WASHINGTON, D. C.
November 6, 1936

My friends, I am very glad to come back among you, my old neighbors.

I formed a very good habit of coming to Washington when I was five years old and I am glad that that habit will not be broken during the coming four years.

I have seen Washington grow during this half century and I am very proud and happy as an American in this wonderful Capital of ours, for it is not only the most beautiful city in all the world but I think it is one of the grandest cities to live in in all the world.

This is a very wonderful greeting that you have given to me on this wonderful day. I am very thankful to you and hope to see much of you in the next four years.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
MOBILIZATION FOR HUMAN NEEDS

WASHINGTON, D. C.
November 6, 1936

The Community Chest is the Service of Supply to the forces of our local welfare agencies that are combatting human misery and consolidating the gains that have been made in social security in your own community. From it come the sinews of war against the most relentless enemies of the needy.

The Federal Government, recognizing the national character of the problem, has assumed the task of providing for those who can properly be employed through a work program, and by means of its social security program is sharing with state and local governments the care of the blind, the widowed and the aged. But there remain very many other human needs that are the responsibility of the Community Chest agencies.

This is a partnership -- this distribution of responsibility according to the character of the problem. Through the successful operation of this partnership our Nation will meet its needs.

Community welfare agencies are needed everywhere to provide an adequate answer to these local calls for help which no people can ignore. The Community Chest is a time-tested agency which has grown from experience to

assure coordinated and effective work by these agencies. Its value is no more debatable than the relative merit of an assembled, operating engine as compared with the same engine before its parts have been put together.

There is a big and vital job to be done. Federal agencies will do their part. But the job cannot be done unless the community welfare agencies are functioning also.

The machinery to do the job is ready in your community. In nearly all our cities it is now in operation; but like any practical machine ever devised by men, it must have fuel or it will not continue to run. This is refueling time.

Fortunately, this appeal comes at a time when the National income is rising and the number of Americans left defenseless against poverty and hunger is diminishing. There is a firm, well-grounded public conviction that the recent desperate winters of human need are, if we hold steadfastly to our course, never to recur.

It is equally certain, however, that millions of families and individuals will need all the help their local welfare agencies can give them. Let us all share our increasing prosperity.

With gratitude for our increased measure of ability to bear this burden, I am confident that our people will respond more generously than ever before to the appeal the Community Chest now presents.

Such a response to the appeal of human needs has never been adequate, but step by step, with the partnership of local and Federal agencies -- Government aid and private charity -- our people are approaching the goal of social security for all.

Nineteen thirty-six is our opportunity for another advance. May each and every one of us, in every community in every State, contribute our share in answer to this great appeal to meet human needs.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
JUSSERAND MEMORIAL DEDICATION
ROCK CREEK PARK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 7, 1936

This is far more than the formal dedication of a Memorial to a statesman of great accomplishment. It is an opportunity for many of M. Jusserand's old-time friends to gather here in a spot he loved and think back over the years when he was with us. This delightful place where we meet is hallowed by tender memories for his gentle companion whom we greet again in Washington. All of us are grateful that we may speak to each other in words of affectionate remembrance and appreciation of one whose valiant spirit hovers over this scene.

And there is opportunity also for his thousands of friends in every walk of life in France and in America to remember this afternoon the fine influence which M. Jusserand exerted in so many fields.

We know his splendid career as the representative of our sister Republic, the deep friendship between himself and Theodore Roosevelt, his wide knowledge and understanding of the American people.

But I would say one word of the man I knew so well during the years of the great War. Few have been placed in a situation more difficult, more open every day and every

hour to the possibility of a misunderstanding of grave issues by the American public.

I talked with him often. His poise, his determination to avoid all methods of propaganda, his insistence that the American people could best make up their own minds through the presentation of simple facts and principles had, in their ultimate effect, a telling influence on public opinion when this Nation through its President and its Congress made the great decision in April, 1917. Maintenance of the highest standard of diplomatic ethics brought its own reward.

All of us who knew him were amazed by his culture -- a culture not superficial even though it embraced an interest in such a multitude of subjects. We can go far before we match the record of one of the greatest of Diplomats, who, at the same time, in the field of letters saw his work crowned by the French Academy on one side of the Atlantic, won the Pulitzer prize on the other, and in recognition of his learning was elected President of the American Historical Association.

Almost we can say -- he was a great American as well as a great Frenchman. We link M. Jusserand's name forever with the names of Lafayette and Rochambeau and De Grasse and the other valiant Frenchmen whose services in this country entitle them for all time to the grateful remembrance of all Americans.

The people of the two great sister democracies will always regard him thus. We, his old personal friends, will often come to this Memorial with the added thought of the inspiring hours we spent with him and the deep affection we shall always feel.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
PAN-AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL BROADCAST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 7, 1936, about 8.50 P.M.

Today the Delegation of the United States to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, together with the delegations of several other American Republics, are sailing from New York for Buenos Aires, and I am taking this opportunity to wish them Godspeed and at the same time to send a word of greeting to the peoples of the twenty-one American nations. It will be an auspicious moment, indeed, when our own representatives convene with those of the other nations of this Hemisphere in the capital of our great southern neighbor.

I say auspicious advisedly, for it is my thought that this will be no ordinary conference. No previous inter-American conference has assembled with the assurance which we possess today that every American Government and all of the American peoples now realize their joint responsibility for making sure that all of us on this Continent march forward in harmony and in understanding friendship together along the paths of progress and of peace.

We in the New World are fortunate indeed. We must insure a continuance of our happy situation. A start has been made. Today, as never before, the nations of the Western Hemisphere are joined together by an ever-increasing community

of interests.

It is no exaggeration to say that in a world torn by conflicting demands, in a world in which democratic institutions are so seriously threatened, in a world in which freedom and human liberty itself is at stake, the Americas stand forth as an example of international solidarity, cooperation and mutual helpfulness.

Nevertheless, satisfactory as the international relationships on this Hemisphere may be, much is still to be done. The gains that have been made can be consolidated and constructive steps can be taken along lines heretofore untried. It seems to me that an unprecedented opportunity exists for the American nations to cooperate in a friendly fashion to make the spirit of peace a practical and living fact.

I feel confident that on the solid foundation of inter-American friendship, equality, and unity the Conference at Buenos Aires will be able to take further steps for the maintenance of peace, thus insuring the continuance of conditions under which it will be possible, nay, inevitable, for the economic, social, cultural, and spiritual life of the nations of this Hemisphere to reach full growth.

I hope with all my heart that the forthcoming Conference will give renewed hope and courage to the war-weary peoples of the world by demonstrating to them that the

scourge of armed conflict can and will be eliminated
from the Western Hemisphere.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO CONFERENCE OF MAYORS
AT THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 16, 1936

You have a lot of problems and I am glad that Fiorello (Mayor LaGuardia) mentioned the fact that there is sympathy for them in the White House -- that there is understanding of all of your individual problems. I want to keep in touch with what you do.

I will know in an hour whether I push off for Buenos Aires tomorrow night or not. I think I am going.

I see the Mayor of San Francisco looking at me, but this ship strike on the West Coast could go on for a week. It might go on for two weeks, or longer.

As between this particular strike and whatever effect my visit to South America may have on the peace of the world, the peace of the world is the more important of the two.

I hope the ship owners and the men out on strike will recognize that fact and come together.

I think I can say that the Federal government will take care of its full share of the burden of relief after you and the Governors of the states have done everything you fully and reasonably can be expected to do in this connection.

If I leave tomorrow night I will be gone until

about the fourteenth of December. In the meantime, I am working out the Federal budget for the fiscal year 1938 and if your Conference will keep in touch with the Director of the Budget, with Harry Hopkins, Secretary Ickes and the other Federal agencies, we should have things in such shape so that when I get back in December, we will have a clear picture of what the coming fiscal year will be.

It is fine to see you. I thank you all for coming to see me.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE BRAZILIAN CONGRESS AT RIO DE JANEIRO
November 27, 1936, 2.30 P.M.

Your Excellency, Gentlemen of the Congress and
of the Supreme Court of Brazil:

Nearly half a century ago a little boy was walking with his father and mother in a park of a city in southern France. Toward them came a distinguished looking elderly couple -- Dom Pedro II and his Empress. That occasion was my first introduction to Brazil. In the years that have passed since that day -- years measured by the splendid history of the Republic of Brazil -- I have had the pleasure of meeting many of your statesmen, and of becoming increasingly familiar with the problems which mutually affect our two nations. My visit to Rio de Janeiro today is therefore the realization of a growing desire to see Brazil with my own eyes. Every student has been told of the majestic beauty in which your great city is cradled. But Rio is unique in that the reality far exceeds our expectations. A visit -- even of a single day -- is one of the outstanding experiences of my life. The loveliness of nature would have been enough to bring me here -- but my visit has another purpose. I was unwilling to come so

far abroad without rendering my respects to the Government of Brazil -- that sister nation with which for more than a century we have maintained a tradition of good understanding, a mutual regard and cooperation which is rare in history.

I have had the honor of greeting your great President; and this personal friendship between the chief executives of our two nations seems to me not only of practical benefit, but also of profound significance. You, gentlemen of the Congress, now afford me the courtesy of this agreeable opportunity of meeting in person the legislative branch of your Government and of exchanging thoughts directly with its members. I could not be but deeply sensible of the unique honor offered by the presence in this Chamber of your Supreme Court, a tribunal whose high traditions are known throughout the juridical world. Thus, the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the Government of Brazil have united in this demonstration of friendship toward the nation which I have the honor to represent.

Let me now return thanks for this renewed proof of that brotherhood which has ever united Brazil and the United States, a fraternity not limited to the relations

between our Governments, but a fraternity which I have reason to know is made evident in every group in both countries, whenever and wherever they meet. The fine record of our relations is the best answer to those pessimists who scoff at the idea of true friendship between nations. In the present state of the world it is heartening that the two largest countries in this hemisphere have been able, by the exercise of good will, good temper and good sense to conduct the whole course of their relations without clash or conflict or ill-feeling.

Not only that. The confidence in each other's aims and motives enables us to work together for the common good. We have a record of which we can be proud -- a record of joint endeavor in the cause of peace in this New World. My country has derived strength and confidence from the far-sighted, irreproachable attitude of Brazil in its devolution, arbitration, conciliation and other methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Your first concern, like ours, is peace -- for we know that war destroys, not only human lives and human happiness, but destroys as well the ideals of individual liberty and of the democratic form of representative government which is the goal of all the American Republics.

I think I can say that if in the generation to come we can live without war, democratic government throughout the Americas will prove its complete ability to raise the standards of life for those millions who cry for opportunity today. The motto of war is, "let the strong survive; let the weak die". The motto of peace is, "let the strong help the weak to survive".

There is room for all of us, without treading on one another's toes. There are resources of nature adequate for our present and our future. We are happily free from ancient antagonisms which have brought so much misery to other parts of the world. There are, it is true, conflicts of interest between the American States -- but they cannot be called serious or difficult of solution, when compared with the deeply rooted hates of other continents. There is no American conflict -- and I weigh my words when I say this -- there is no American conflict that cannot be settled by orderly and peaceful means. And, it is in our common interest imperative that they be settled always by agreement and not by bloodshed. We serve not ourselves alone. The friendly nations of the Americas can render no greater service to civilization itself than by maintaining both domestic and international peace and by freeing themselves forever from conflict.

We are about to gather in a great American Conference, called by President Justo in furtherance of the Good Neighbor policy in which we all share. In this Conference we have the opportunity to banish war from the New World and dedicate it to peace. It is unthinkable to me that in this time of worldwide apprehension we should fail to seize the opportunity to meet what is a heavy responsibility, this is no time to hesitate. We must be guided by a serene and generous view of our common needs. World horizons may be dark, but the time is auspicious for our task in America. The rest of the world presents a grim picture of armed camps and threats of conflict.

But in our own Continent armed clashes which in recent years have divided American countries have been happily brought to an end.

It is gratifying to be able to pay well-deserved tribute to the very outstanding part played by your able and distinguished Foreign Minister Macedo Soares in the mediatory efforts of the representatives of six American Republics. And the Leticia question was settled here in Rio through the patient assistance and masterly diplomacy of Dr. Afranio Mello Franco. The progress we have made

must not be allowed to serve as pretext for resting on our laurels; it should, on the contrary, stimulate us to new and increased effort. It is not enough that peace prevails from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it is essential that this condition be made permanent, that we provide effectively against the recurrence of the horrors of war and assure peace to ourselves and our posterity. All instrumentalities for the maintenance of peace must be consolidated and reinforced. We cannot countenance aggression -- from wheresoever it may come.

The people of each and every one of the American Republics -- and, I am confident, the people of the Dominion of Canada as well -- wish to lead their own lives free from desire for conquest and free from fear of conquest -- free at the same time to expand their cultural and intellectual relationships and to take council together to encourage the peaceful progress of modern civilization. Our aims will best be served by agreements which bring peace, security and friendship among us and all our neighbors.

Solidarity among the American States in the cause of peace constitutes no threats to other regions or races. The honorable adherence to solemn agreements among us will harm no other Continent. On the contrary -- the more firmly

peace is established in this Hemisphere, the more closely we live up to the spirit as well as the letter of our agreements, the better it will be for all the rest of the world. Let us present a record which our hemisphere may give to the world as convincing proof that peace lies always at hand when nations, serene in their sovereign security, meet their current problems with understanding good-will. All of us have learned that no real, no lasting prosperity can exist where it is secured at the expense of our neighbors -- that among nations, as in our domestic relations, the principle of interdependence is paramount.

No nation can live entirely to itself. Each one of us has learned the glories of independence. Let each one of us learn the glories of interdependence. Economically, we supply each other's needs; intellectually we maintain a constant, a growing exchange of culture, of science and of thought; spiritually, the life of each can well enrich the life of all. We are showing in international relations what we have long known in private relations -- that good neighbors make a good community.

In that knowledge we meet today as neighbors. We can discard the dangerous language of rivalry; we can put aside the empty phrases of "diplomatic triumphs" or

"shrewd bargains". We can forget all thought of domination, of selfish coalitions or of balances of power. Those false gods have no place among American neighbors.

Happily, the relations between Brazil and the United States have transcended those lesser conceptions. Secure in unbroken respect and friendship we meet with full respect, each for the other; with every hope that our mutual regard may prove useful to others as well. There has never been a time when this confidence between Brazil and the United States was more precious or more needed. I know from my enlightening conversation with President Vargas that we are entering the coming Conference, deeply mindful of our responsibilities and the need to work in fullest understanding with all of the republics of this hemisphere. If we are guided by wisdom, such comprehension will banish conflict from this part of the world. We are entitled to hope that we may thus contribute to the universal ideal that nations throughout the entire world, laying weapons aside, may at last fulfill the greatest ambition which any nation, large or small, can have -- that of contributing steadily and, above all, generously to the advance of well-being, culture and civilization throughout the changing years.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BEFORE THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE
FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE
ASSEMBLED AT BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA
December 1, 1936, 6 P.M., Buenos Aires Time

Members of the American family of nations:

On the happy occasion of the convening of this conference I address you thus, because members of a family need no introduction or formalities when, in pursuance of excellent custom, they meet together for their common good.

As a family we appreciate the hospitality of our host, President Justo, and the government and people of Argentina; and all of us are happy that to our friend Dr. Saavedra Lamas has come the well deserved award of the Nobel Prize for great service in the cause of world peace.

Three years ago the American family met in nearby Montevideo, the great capital of the republic of Uruguay. They were dark days. A shattering depression, unparalleled in its intensity, held us together with the rest of the world in its grasp. And on our own continent a tragic war was raging between two of our sister republics.

Yet, at that conference there was born, not only hope for our common future, but a greater measure of mutual trust between the American democracies than had ever existed before. In this Western Hemisphere the night of fear has been dispelled. Many of the intolerable burdens of economic depression have been lightened and, due in no small part to our common efforts, every nation of this hemisphere is today at peace with its neighbors.

This is no conference to form alliances, to divide the spoils of war, to partition countries, to deal with human beings as though they were the pawns in a game of chance. Our purpose, under happy auspices, is to assure the continuance of the blessing of peace.

Three years ago, recognizing that a crisis was being thrust upon the New World, with splendid unanimity our twenty-one republics set an example to the whole world by proclaiming a new spirit, a new day in the affairs of this hemisphere.

While the succeeding period has justified in full measure all that was said and done at Montevideo, it has unfortunately emphasized the seriousness of the threat to peace among other nations. Events elsewhere have served only to strengthen our horror of war and all that war

means. The men, women and children of the Americas know that warfare in this day and age means more than the mere clash of armies: they see the destruction of cities and of farms -- they foresee that children and grand-children, if they survive, will stagger for long years not only under the burden of poverty, but also amid the threat of broken society and the destruction of constitutional government.

I am profoundly convinced that the plain people everywhere in the civilized world today wish to live in peace one with another. And still leaders and governments resort to war. Truly, if the genius of mankind that has invented the weapons of death cannot discover the means of preserving peace, civilization as we know it lives in an evil day.

But we cannot now, especially in view of our common purpose, accept any defeatist attitude. We have learned by hard experience that peace is not to be had for the mere asking; that peace, like other great privileges, can be obtained only by hard and painstaking effort. We are here to dedicate ourselves and our countries to that work.

You who assemble today carry with you in your

deliberations the hopes of millions of human beings in other less fortunate lands. Beyond the ocean we see continents rent asunder by old hatreds and new fanaticism. We hear the demand that injustice and inequality be corrected by resorting to the sword and not by resorting to reason and peaceful justice. We hear the cry that new markets can be achieved only through conquest. We read that the sanctity of treaties between nations is disregarded.

We know, too, that vast armaments are rising on every side and that the work of creating them employs men and women by the millions. It is natural, however, for us to conclude that such employment is false employment, that it builds no permanent structures and creates no consumers goods for the maintenance of a lasting prosperity. We know that nations guilty of these follies inevitably face the day either when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy like a house of cards will fall apart.

In either case, even though the Americas become involved in no war, we must suffer too. The madness of a great war in other parts of the world would affect us and threaten our good in a hundred ways. And the economic

collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity harm our own prosperity.

Can we, the Republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes, I am confident that we can.

First, it is our duty by every honorable means to prevent any future war among ourselves. This can best be done through the strengthening of the processes of constitutional democratic government -- to make these processes conform to the modern need for unity and efficiency and, at the same time, preserve the individual liberties of our citizens. By so doing, the people of our nations, unlike the people of many nations who live under other forms of government, can and will insist on their intention to live in peace. Thus will democratic government be justified throughout the world.

In the determination to live at peace among ourselves we in the Americas make it at the same time clear that we stand shoulder to shoulder in our final determination that others who, driven by war madness or land hunger might seek to commit acts of aggression against us, will find a hemisphere wholly prepared to consult together for our mutual safety and our mutual good. I repeat what I

said in speaking before the Congress and the Supreme Court of Brazil, "Each one of us has learned the glories of independence. Let each one of us learn the glories of interdependence."

Secondly, and in addition to the perfecting of the mechanism of peace, we can strive even more strongly than in the past to prevent the creation of those conditions which give rise to war. Lack of social or political justice within the borders of any nation is always cause for concern. Through democratic processes we can strive to achieve for the Americas the highest possible standard of living conditions for all our people. Men and women blessed with political freedom, willing to work, and able to find work, rich enough to maintain their families and to educate their children, contented with their lot in life and on terms of friendship with their neighbors, will defend themselves to the utmost but will never consent to take up arms for a war of conquest.

Interwoven with these problems is the further self-evident fact that the welfare and prosperity of each of our nations depends in large part on the benefits derived from commerce among themselves and with other nations, for our present civilization rests on the basis of

an international exchange of commodities. Every nation of the world has felt the evil effects of recent efforts to erect trade barriers of every known kind. Every individual citizen has suffered from them. It is no accident that the nations which have carried this process furthest are those which proclaim most loudly that they require war as an instrument of their policy. It is no accident that attempts to be self-sufficient have led to falling standards for their people and to ever-increasing loss of the democratic ideals in a mad race to pile armament on armament. It is no accident that because of these suicidal policies and the suffering attending them, many of their people have come to believe with despair that the price of war seems less than the price of peace.

This state of affairs we must refuse to accept with every instinct of defense, with every exhortation of enthusiastic hope, with every use of mind and skill.

I cannot refrain here from reiterating my gratification that in this, as in so many other achievements, the American Republics have given a salutary example to the world. The resolution adopted at the inter-American Conference at Montevideo endorsing the principles of

liberal trade policies has shone forth like a beacon in the storm of economic madness which has been sweeping over the entire world during these later years. Truly, if the principles there embodied find still wider applications in your deliberations, it would be a notable contribution to the cause of peace. For my own part I have done all in my power to sustain the consistent efforts of my Secretary of State in negotiating agreements for reciprocal trade, and even though the individual results may seem small, the total of them is significant. These policies in recent weeks have received the approval of the people of the United States, and they have, I am sure, the sympathy of the other nations here assembled.

There are many other causes for war -- among them, long festering feuds, unsettled frontiers, territorial rivalries. But these sources of danger which still exist in the Americas, I am thankful to say, are not only few in number, but already on the way to peaceful adjudication. While the settlement of such controversies may necessarily involve adjustments at home or in our relations with our neighbors which may appear to involve material sacrifice, let no man or woman forget that there is no profit in war. Sacrifices in the cause

of peace are infinitely small compared with the holocaust of war.

Peace comes from the spirit, and must be grounded in faith. In seeking peace, perhaps we can best begin by proudly affirming the faith of the Americas; the faith in freedom and its fulfillment which has proved a mighty fortress beyond reach of successful attack in half the world.

That faith arises from a common hope and a common design given us by our fathers in differing form, but with a single aim -- freedom and security of the individual, which has become the foundation of our peace.

If then, by making war in our midst impossible, and if within ourselves and among ourselves we can give greater freedom and fulfillment to the individual lives of our citizens, the democratic form of representative government will have justified the high hopes of the liberating fathers. Democracy is still the hope of the world. If we in our generation can continue its successful applications in the Americas, it will spread and supersede other methods by which men are governed and which seem to most of us to run counter to our ideals of human liberty and human progress.

Three centuries of history sowed the seeds which

grew into our nations; the fourth century saw those nations become equal and free and brought us to a common system of constitutional government; the fifth century is giving to us a common meeting ground of mutual help and understanding. Our hemisphere has at last come of age. We are here assembled to show it united to the world. We took from our ancestors a great dream. We here offer it back as a great unified reality.

Finally, in expressing our faith of the Western World, let us affirm:

That we maintain and defend the Democratic form of constitutional representative government.

That through such government we can more greatly provide a wider distribution of culture, of education, of thought and of free expression.

That through it we can obtain a greater security of life for our citizens and a more equal opportunity for them to prosper.

That through it we can best foster commerce and the exchange of art and science between nations; that through it we can avoid the rivalry of armament, avert hatred and encourage good will and true justice.

That through it we offer hope for peace and a more abundant life to the peoples of the whole world.

But this faith of the Western World will not be complete if we fail to affirm our faith in God. In the whole history of mankind, far back into the dim past before man knew how to record thoughts or events, the human race has been distinguished from other forms of life by the existence -- the fact -- of religion. Periodic attempts to deny God have always come and will always come to naught.

In the constitutions and in the practices of our nations is the right of freedom of religion. But this ideal, these words presuppose a belief and a trust in God.

The faith of the Americas, therefore, lies in the spirit. The system, the sisterhood of the Americas is impregnable so long as her nations maintain that spirit.

In that faith and spirit we will have peace over the Western World. In that faith and spirit we will all watch and guard our hemisphere. In that faith and spirit may we also, with God's help, offer hope to our brethren overseas.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

MONTEVIDEO

December 3, 1936

Your excellency President Terra, and Senora de Terra, it is a privilege today to be the guest of the Government of the Republic of Uruguay and it is a great personal pleasure to which I have looked forward for many years.

Here three years ago in this beautiful city of Montevideo there was born a new era of friendship and confidence among the Americas. No one is entitled to more credit for this new day than Your Excellency; for you labored unceasingly and generously both as host and as statesman for the success of that conference.

I believe that when history comes to be written the origin of the new American era will be placed here in the memorable year 1933. Truly, it is an inspiration for the average citizen of all our republics that that conference is giving back its fruits in terms of achievement for the people of the world. During the past week I have become certain of this because I have seen in the faces of the men, women and children in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires and, today, in Montevideo a joyful expression of hope and faith which can and will inspire us, their chosen representatives, to even

greater activity in the common cause.

You, Mr. President, have used a term in speaking of that great patriot, General Artigas, which can well be the inspiration of us all. You have spoken of his "serene and noble spirit of applied justice". It is because of this spirit which actuated the founding fathers of the American Republics that we their followers are inspired to maintain the democratic principles for which they fought.

I am particularly grateful for the kind words which you, Mr. President, have spoken concerning our policies in the United States of America. We fully join with you in the thought that the first battlefield of peace is that of securing well-being at home. It has been of special interest to me to know that you in the Republic of Uruguay have made such great advances in behalf of the well-being of your citizens.

In the days of General Artigas and of his friend President Monroe, human society had, of course, little conception of the economic and social problems which we face today. None of the fathers of any of our republics had even heard of an eight-hour day, of minimum wages, of protection for women and children, of collective bargaining between employers and employees, of old-age security, of modern sanitation, of concrete highways, of railroads or steel buildings. The fathers had not thought of the telegraph, the radio, the automobile, or of travel by fast steamships

and by air. They knew little of the problems of modern science, of modern finance.

And yet, you and I are very certain that if they were alive today the founders of our Governments would look with approval on what we are seeking to do to use the processes of democratic government in solving the new problems.

I recognize as you do that these new problems are common to all our nations. I am glad that you have said that we have been compelled to abandon the comfortable attitude of statesmen of the old school. Every nation in all the world has been compelled to recognize the fact of new conditions. It is of the utmost importance that the nations of the new world have found it possible under vigorous leadership to find the answer within the spirit and the framework of constitutional government and democratic processes.

We have not completed our task. In accordance with the objectives and theory of democratic government, that task is a continuing one. We seek new remedies for new conditions; new conditions will continue to arise: Sometimes the remedies succeed, and sometimes they must be altered or improved. But the net result is that we move forward. We learn, and ought to learn, much from each other -- much that is good and some things which, from experience, we must avoid.

In the case of agriculture, for example, you are familiar with the fact that in the United States we did many

things in the past which ran counter to the laws of nature and of sensible economics. In many parts of my country we have used land in such a way as to diminish its productiveness, we have harmed our supply of water and we have lost our top soil. Today our Government seeks to work with our farming population in correcting these mistakes and in bringing back a greater prosperity and a more permanent use of the land. I cite this as an example, which you undoubtedly know of, to show the need among all our Republics of keeping in close touch with each other, for many of our problems are similar.

On this delightful visit to Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay I have been impressed with the immediate need for better and quicker services of travel and communication between North and South America. I look forward to the day when instead of its being a long and unusual journey, visits between the nations of South America and those of Central America and of North America will be so usual and simple that tens of thousands of our citizens will meet each other in friendly intercourse every year.

And, may I add, that I hope that we shall have a much greater familiarity with each other's languages. It is a great regret of my life that while with some difficulty I can read a little Spanish, I cannot yet converse in it. These visits which I am making on this voyage are so enjoyable in every way that I look forward to an opportunity to return in the future. When that day comes I hope that I shall be

able to speak with all of you in your native tongue.

And may I also express the hope that it will be possible for you, Mr. President and Senora de Terra, to be the guests of Mrs. Roosevelt and myself in Washington while we are still in the White House. Nothing would give us and the people of the United States more pleasure.

It has touched me deeply that you have proposed a toast to Mrs. Roosevelt. She was deeply disappointed that she could not come with me and she will be happy to know of your courtesy and your thought of her.

I lift my glass to the good health and happiness of you and Senora de Terra, and to the continued prosperity, happiness, and progress of the people of the Republic of Uruguay.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
CHRISTMAS TREE LIGHTING

WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 24, 1936

I have been reading the Christmas Carol to my family in accordance with our old custom. On this eve of Christmas I want to quote to you the pledge of old Scrooge when, after many vicissitudes, he had come to understand in his heart the great lesson and the great opportunity of Christmastide.

"I will honor Christmas in my heart, and try to keep it all the year. I will live in the Past, the Present and the Future. The spirits of all Three shall strive within me. I will not shut out the lessons that they teach."

And at the end of the story is this glorious passage:

"Scrooge was better than his word. He did it all and infinitely more; and to Tiny Tim, who did NOT die, he was a second father. He became as good a friend, as good a master and as good a man as the good old city knew, or any other good old city, town or borough in the good old world. Some people laughed to see the alteration in him, but he let them laugh and little heeded them; for he was wise enough to know that nothing ever happened on this globe for good, at which some people did not have their fill of laughter in the outset. His own heart laughed; and that was good enough for him."

The reaching of the Sermon on the Mount is as adequate to the needs of men and of nations today as when it

was first proclaimed among the hills above the Sea of Galilee. In such measure as its spirit is accepted men and nations may lay claim to be seekers after peace on earth.

We of the Western Hemisphere have this year rendered special tribute to the spirit of Christmas, for we have pledged anew our faith in the arbitrament of reason and the practice of friendship. To that faith we bear witness tonight. May that faith make us happy today and tomorrow and through all the coming year.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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FOR THE PRESS

January 30, 1957

CONFIDENTIAL UNTIL RELEASED

CAUTION: This address of the President to be delivered on the occasion of his birthday anniversary is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 11:24 P. M., E.S.T.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY

Assistant Secretary to the President

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You are participating in the finest birthday present which you could possibly give me; and at the same time, you are participating in birthday presents to many thousands of children in every part of the country.

Because devoted volunteers, who have worked for the success of the parties tonight, are numbered by the tens of thousands, I cannot, I regret, make personal acknowledgment to each and every one of my appreciation of their unselfish services. I take this occasion, therefore, to thank you all and, in addition, to thank the many other thousands who have written me and telegraphed me.

I cannot express this word of heartfelt appreciation without acknowledging with pride and with satisfaction the splendid response the Nation has made in answering the call of suffering which comes to us from the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. Truly, "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin".

The preliminary response to the Red Cross appeal has been generous and I know that every dollar necessary to help the flood sufferers will be forthcoming from the rest of the Nation. The appeal for our friends in the flood areas is one of high emergency. Through national effort on a national scale, we shall hope in the days to come to decrease the probability of future floods and similar disasters. In the meantime, we propose to meet this emergency.

The problem of infantile paralysis is not in the same sense an immediate emergency. It is with us every one of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year. It is an insidious and perfidious foe. It lurks in unexpected places and its special prey is little children. It may appear in epidemic form, in any community.

May I tell you a little history? As most of you know, the Warm Springs Foundation undertook treatment and investigation of infantile paralysis in a very small way in 1927. The first birthday parties were held three years ago, on January 30, 1934. The proceeds from the parties were used, in part, for necessary equipment at Warm Springs, in part for taking care of patients from every section of the country who could not afford the cost of the treatment and, in part, in studying the whole national problem of infantile paralysis. As this study developed three years ago, we came to the conclusion that the work of the Warm Springs Foundation should concern itself far more with the broad national problem of infantile paralysis than with the work of taking care of only a few hundred children each year at Warm Springs, with its necessarily limited accommodations.

Therefore, with the birthday parties on January 30, 1935, and in 1936 the proceeds from these parties in thousands of communities were devoted and, in 1937, will be devoted not to the work at Farm Springs, but to the broader national problem of infantile paralysis. Seventy per cent of all the money which has been raised has gone and goes to the care of children crippled by infantile paralysis within their own communities. A committee of doctors and of leading citizens determines how best that money shall be spent in each community. With that determination Farm Springs has nothing to do.

The other thirty per cent of the proceeds goes primarily to two objectives. The first is research. Through a special research commission, with the help of a medical advisory committee, outright grants for nearly three hundred thousand dollars have been made to about fifteen of the leading research laboratories scattered through the country.

Much has been learned, much has been accomplished. While it is too early to say that infantile paralysis, in its epidemic form, can be stopped, we hope that through new methods we can soon arrive at a substantial decrease in the numbers of children who become infected. We believe that we are on the right track.

The second function has taken the form of establishing a central office of coordination. Every year there come thousands of letters from every part of the country, from parents of children who have recently been stricken or from parents of children who were attacked and crippled years ago by infantile paralysis.

When the individual case is brought to the attention of this office of coordination, it is carefully checked and sent to an orthopedic surgeon or an orthopedic hospital or to a nursing service or clinic or to a State society for the handicapped. Some kind of help is obtained -- perhaps an operation, or a new wheel chair, or a new brace or a new corset. In many cases good advice or a careful medical examination gives helpful results.

You will see, therefore, that the Foundation has been putting the care of infantile paralysis and the research into its causes on a national basis for the first time. The expense of research and of the national coordination of these cases entirely absorbs the thirty per cent of the proceeds of these birthday parties.

You are giving tremendous help, not only to the crippled children of your own community but also to the fight against the continuance of infantile paralysis in the Nation. The work, with your help, is going on. It will not cease until some day the disease itself is brought under control and proper aid has been rendered to all.

I wish that some physical way might be found for me to come in person to each of your parties tonight. I am with you in spirit. I am grateful to you for the splendid work that you are doing, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

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February 8, 1937

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CAUTION: This address of the President, broadcast by him from the White House to the Boy Scouts of America MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to all editions of newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 5:30 o'clock P. M., E.S.T.

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President

FELLOW SCOUTS:

Today we are celebrating our twenty-seventh anniversary. From one end of the country to the other we are taking stock of what has been accomplished during all these years and paying a deeply felt and well deserved tribute to the ideals of scouting.

I like to think on such occasions as this that there are many thousands of men -- some young, some entering middle age -- who, though not actively participating in our celebrations, have, nevertheless, found it to be true that "once a Boy Scout, always a Boy Scout". The ideals of Scouting are not simply ideals for boys. They are ideals for men. For the ideal of service to others can never be outgrown however often it may be lost sight of by some.

Tonight I am especially happy to renew my invitation for the Boy Scouts to hold a Jamboree here in the Nation's Capital in the early summer. We were all of us greatly disappointed because the Jamboree to which I had invited the Boy Scouts in 1935 had to be cancelled. But now we are going ahead with plans which I am confident will result in a demonstration on the part of boyhood the like of which has never been seen before in this country. I am glad that this is going to be an encampment because it is fitting that a movement such as ours should hold its first great national demonstration in the out-of-doors.

Yes, we are planning to have a city of tents rise here in the Capital actually within the shadow of the Washington Monument. On a site only a short distance from the room from which I am speaking to you today twenty-five thousand boys will live together under canvas from June thirtieth to July ninth. It stirs my imagination and I am sure that it gives all of you a genuine thrill.

Our country was developed by pioneers who camped along the trails which they blazed all the way from the Atlantic Ocean to the slopes of the Pacific. To the American people for generations camping was a way of living -- it is in our very blood. I believe that this Jamboree is going to be a great success because I believe in the effectiveness of trained boyhood. Incidentally, I am gratified to know that there was a greater increase in Boy Scout membership in 1936 than in any previous year. And, as showing that true Scouts always rise to every emergency, I am glad to say that I have received gratifying reports of the practical aid they are extending in cooperating with flood relief workers in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

Our Jamboree, besides being an event long to be remembered by the boys who participate, will afford a practical demonstration of the principle of self-reliance which scout work is developing in all of you. There will be gathered together a thoroughly representative group mobilized from all parts of the country. Other countries will send delegates to meet with us. Scouting is now organized in almost every civilized nation in the world. The camp here in Washington will afford an opportunity for us to extend our horizon and enlarge our friendships on the basis of the ideals expressed in the Scout Oath and Law.

I extend to you all my greetings and my good wishes for the year ahead. And now our Chief Scout Executive, Dr. James E. West, will lead you in rededicating ourselves to the Scout Oath.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
at the Testimonial Dinner for the Honorable James A. Farley
at the Mayflower Hotel
February 15, 1937

Mr. Vice President, Jim Farley: I am not going to say
"Fellow Democrats," I am going to say "Fellow Americans" because in
this gathering are represented those whom the voters in the United
States and all the states of the Union have called upon to take part
in the government of all the people of the country, no matter where
they may be, and so I say, "Fellow Americans": (applause)

I wish I could go down the line; I wish I could talk to you,
a lot of you, in a very personal way because there are not many here
tonight that can go back further than I do. Jack Garner has me beaten
by ten years. Very few others took an active part in the government
of this country prior to the Democratic victory of 1912. Yet those of
you who are older and those of you who are younger have read history,
certainly the history of the last half century, and in reading that
history I take it that there are few people -- I might say no people --
who, in the affairs of party government -- and, after all, for one
hundred and forty years out of our one hundred and fifty years our
Government has been run on the principle of two great parties -- there
is not one in all that time who has been of greater importance in the
government of the country from the point of view of responsible party
government than Jim Farley. (Applause)

This dinner to Jim Farley is on the part of all of us a very personal affair. It is not one of those official banquets with a formal list of formal speakers, talking on formal subjects into the small hours

of the morning. It is not a political gathering, or a party gathering, or a victory gathering, or even a gathering to hatch some mysterious plot or pull off a coup d'etat.

The only label appropriate for the occasion is a very simple one which, with my permission, the cartoonists may copy, "Jim Farley and his friends." Many of us have known him through the years. Some of you have been associated with him for only a short time -- but all of us, old and young alike, have a common regard, a common affection for Jim Farley, (which) an affection that transcends formality because it is based on the man himself. (Applause)

History has recorded already, and will continue to record, a great many interesting facts about Jim. In due time history will talk out loud about his younger days of (local) public service to his town on the Hudson River and his country and his state. (It) And history will talk about his organizing of campaigns in state and nation; it will speak of his fine service as a member of the Cabinet of the United States, (the) as an administrator of an important Department of the Federal Government. It may even add his name to the distinguished list of major prophets. (Applause) Some of us old people remember 1896 and even as the name of William Jennings Bryan sometimes (applause) even as the name of the great commoner suggests the arithmetic of sixteen to one, so perhaps the name of Jim Farley will suggest the more modern arithmetic of forty-six to two. (Applause)

But when history is written, after all of us have passed from the scene, there will be something more important than the mere chronicle of success in (accomplishment) public office. In the book of history there are going to be other things written. Loyalty will be written

there -- that loyalty to friends (which) that results in loyalty from friends. (Applause) Honor and decency will be written there -- the honor and decency which have done much to raise the standards of public service in (our nation) the American Nation.

Good temper will be written there -- the kind of good temper (which) that is based on a sense of perspective, a sense of humor and a sense of forgiveness. In all my years of association with Jim Farley I have never once heard him utter one mean syllable about any human being. (Applause) I have never heard him suggest revenge or reprisal -- except once -- and that was when after a particularly vicious and mean attack that was made on him personally, Jim went to this long extent and said to me, "Governor" -- he has always called me Governor -- he said, "Governor, (he said to me) that fellow's mother ought to spank him." (Laughter, applause)

On (the) a certain Saturday before a certain first Tuesday after the first Monday in November (election), in speaking to the workers at headquarters -- and I am glad so many are here, I praised Jim Farley for the way he had taken things on the chin and had come up smiling every time. That means one more thing. It means courage and there is not a man in the United States who has more deep-seated, thoroughgoing courage than he has. (Applause)

Back of it all ultimate history will analyze the causes of human actions and the causes of human qualities. (It) And that element of history will, I think, agree with my analysis when I say that Jim Farley is not just a Democrat with a big "D" -- he is a Democrat in the sense that he has faith in his fellowman. He likes to believe, and he does believe, that men and women in every part of our country are funda-

mentally decent, are fundamentally honest, and (that) if they are given a chance through democratic processes, their decisions will be fundamentally sound. Because of this belief he has made in his short span of life -- because he is only a child -- and I know he is going to make through all the years to come (and I hope through all the years to come will continue to make), a definite contribution to the success of the democratic processes of American institutions.

Jim would not like it if I were to say, "We love him for the enemies he has made," because Jim does not think in terms of human enmity, but I can tell him that we love him for the friends he has made (applause) -- men and women and children, regardless of party -- men, women and children in every community of every one of our forty-eight states, including Maine and Vermont. (Applause)

So I know that you will (I ask you to) join with me in wishing him health and happiness through all the years to come -- health and happiness to my friend and your friend, a faithful servant of the people of our Republic, Jim Farley. (Applause)

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
from Georgia Hall, Warm Springs, Georgia
to the Charitable Irish Society of Boston
and the Hibernian Society of Savannah
March 17 (St. Patrick's Day), 1937.

My friends of Massachusetts and of Georgia:

It gives me great pleasure from this quiet spot in the Georgia hills to greet my friends of the Charitable Irish Society of Boston and the Hibernian Society of Savannah.

Although we think of ourselves sometimes as a very young civilization, I know of no better illustration of our historic background than the story of the origin of the great Irish Societies formed for charitable purposes generations ago along the whole line of our Atlantic Seaboard.

You in Boston, celebrating your two hundredth anniversary, are the oldest of the family. You in Savannah, celebrating your one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary are the youngest. Observing this seventeenth of March are your brothers of the other old societies -- the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia, the Hibernian Society in Baltimore and the Hibernian Society of Charleston.

In all these generations your Societies have lived up to the noble legend "non sibi sed Aliis" -- not for yourselves but for others. You have aided your own members, and many others who might be deserving of your charity. You have aided not Irishmen alone or the descendants of Irishmen -- you have contributed greatly to the good of your communities as a whole.

I have a particular tenderness for St. Patrick's Day for, as

some of you know, it was on the seventeenth of March, 1905, that a Roosevelt wedding took place in New York City to the accompaniment of the bands playing their way up Fifth Avenue to the tune of "The Wearin' of the Green." On that occasion New York had two great attractions -- the St. Patrick's Day Parade, and President Theodore Roosevelt, who had come from Washington to give the bride away. I might add that it was wholly natural and logical that in the spotlight of these two simultaneous attractions the bride and the bridegroom were almost entirely overlooked, and left in the background.

Today, therefore, I am obtaining revenge for my obscurity for that occasion, for I am taking an actual personal part, even though it be by telephone, in one celebration of the day of the North and another celebration of the day in the South.

Yes, I am always thrilled by St. Patrick's Day -- the day that Irishmen the world over garner to their hearts and souls their tenderest memories, recall the ancient glories of Erin and renew their allegiance to the great Apostle of fifteen hundred years ago. Through all the vicissitudes of these fifteen centuries -- through trappings and burnings -- through war and slaughter -- in times of plenty or in times of famine -- Ireland, and the descendants of Ireland, have been faithful to the heritage of St. Patrick.

The same devotion and steadfastness to the cause of liberty within the homeland itself, has accompanied the sons and daughters of Ireland wherever they have gone -- even to the far corners of the earth. Our own country owes a great debt to their contribution to its upbuilding. They have borne arms in our wars both in the colonial and the national periods. In commerce, agriculture and industry, in the

arts and sciences, in literature, in the professions and in the councils of state they have shown special aptitude and outstanding talent.

There is a further happy coincidence in this greeting which I am sending tonight to Boston and to Savannah -- my children are the direct descendants of pioneer settlers of both your cities -- Savannah through their mother and Boston through their father. Furthermore, I am proud to participate in these celebrations and to have this fellowship with organizations which in former years were addressed by predecessors of mine in the Presidency of the United States.

"Not for ourselves but for others." That motto can well be the inspiration of all of us -- not alone for the fine purposes of charity, but also for our guidance in our public and private service. Selfishness is without doubt the greatest danger that confronts our beloved country today. Good old St. Patrick and may he ever be with us -- Good old St. Patrick was the epitome of unselfishness. May we follow in his footsteps through all of the years.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE OCCASION
OF THE DEDICATION OF THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT SCHOOLHOUSE,
WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA, March 18, 1937, 3:00 o'clock P.M.

I am glad that I have been introduced as your neighbor because I have been your neighbor now for a great many years. I am also glad that Mr. Smith went back to that day in Albany, in 1929, when we talked about the school needs in Warm Springs. The Julius Rosenwald Fund helped there materially in providing us with the plans for the other school which was built in 1929, and with the completion of this school this community is now pretty well fitted out with its physical needs as to school buildings.

It was way back in 1924 that I began to learn economics at Warm Springs. I went to school at Warm Springs, and here is how it happened: One day, sitting on the porch of the little cottage in which I lived, a very young man came up to the porch and said, "May I speak with you, Mr. Roosevelt?" and I said, "Yes." He came up to the porch and he asked if I would come over to such and such a town -- not very far away from here -- come over next week and deliver the diplomas at the Commencement of the school. I said, "Yes," and then I said, "Are you the president of the graduating class?" He said, "No, I am principal of the school." I said, "How old are you?" He said, "Nineteen years." I said, "Have you been to college?" He answered, "I had my freshman year at the University of Georgia." I said, "Do you figure on going through and getting a degree?" He said, "Yes, sir, I will be teaching school every other year and going to college every other year on the proceeds." I said, "How much are they paying you?"

And the principal of the school said, "They are very generous;

they are paying me three hundred dollars a year." Well, that started me thinking. Three hundred dollars a year for the principal of the school! That meant that the three ladies who were teaching under him were getting less than three hundred dollars a year. I said to myself, "Why pay that scale?"

At that particular time one of the banks in Warm Springs closed its doors. At the same time one of the stores in Warm Springs folded up. I began figuring out that the community did not have any purchasing power. There were a good many reasons for that. One reason was five cent cotton. You know what five cent cotton, six cent cotton, seven cent cotton meant to the South, and yet here was a very large part of the Nation that was completely at the mercy of people outside of the South, of the speculators, dependent on world conditions and on national conditions over which they had absolutely no control. The South was starving on five and six and seven cent cotton and they could not build schools and they could not pay teachers and the younger generation was growing up without an adequate education. You and I know that that simple fact is very, very true.

So I began expanding my economic philosophy. I started in the next year, as some of you will remember, and let a contract to build the golf course. The contractor, who was an honest and efficient contractor, got his labor, partly white and partly colored, around Warm Springs and he paid them seventy cents a day and eighty cents a day -- when the weather was good. Figure out the purchasing power of the families of these workers in the course of a year. Could they buy anything at the local store? Could the local store sell enough to keep the wheels of the factories in the North running?

In other words, by that process of reasoning, we saw that the prices paid to labor down here in Warm Springs, the prices that we people got for our cotton -- all of them tied in with the factories of the industrial cities of the North and East. And so a number of years ago -- and I was not the only one, for a lot of people were thinking along the same lines -- we began trying to think of the picture as a national picture. We began to realize that here in this wonderful Southland there was a great opportunity, an economic opportunity, an educational opportunity, if we could only do something to stabilize what people got for their work and their cotton at a higher level -- a level which would be more nearly the level of other parts of the country.

And here we are in 1937. We can remember back thirteen or fourteen years ago and compare the condition of Warm Springs and Meriwether County, and indeed the whole of the South, this year with the conditions in 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1928, even before the depression. Today we are infinitely better off and we all know it. That is because we are today thinking in national terms.

Now, so far as education goes, we have a long, long way to go. Somebody at lunch told me a story of an old negro who had said: "He got a lot of book knowledge but he ain't got no mother knowledge." Now, there is a lot in that. It is not book knowledge alone that counts. Even you children in the back room can take this from me: It is not book knowledge alone that will get you through life. You have got to have mother knowledge, too. Yes, we have a long way to go, but we are taking the proper steps as shown by the fact that this building and the other schoolhouse, the new schoolhouse in Manchester, and in

other parts of this country have been built to meet our physical needs. At the same time we must raise our economic standards a good deal higher than they are today. I would like to see the pay of the teachers in the whole State of Georgia approximate more nearly the pay of the teachers in the State of New York in the country districts where I live. I would like to see the plan of Governor Rivers go through. He told me the other day that he wanted to spend twice as much on education this coming year as was spent last year. That is a great ambition and I hope he succeeds. He wants to guarantee a seven-months school year to every child in the State of Georgia, and I hope that he can accomplish that, too. But it is going to mean that everybody must put his shoulder to the wheel to put it through.

Mr. Peabody -- I wish he could be here today -- said to me the other day, "We have made great strides and today in this State there is a greater understanding among all groups of citizens in every county for the need of raising the economic standards and thereby raising the educational standards of the State." He has contributed very greatly to what has been done, and we are all very grateful and proud of the work that George Foster Peabody has done, not only in this State but in a great many other states of the Union, including up-State New York. I am sorry that he cannot be here today, and I am also sorry that my better half cannot be here today. She asked me to tell you that she is tremendously grateful and very happy in having this fine building named in her honor, and I hope that next time we will, both of us, be able to get down here so that she may come here and see this school and see the children in it and see the tablet with her name over there on the front wall.

I have known the parents and the grandparents of a good many of the boys and girls who are actually at school in this building at the present time, so that I have a personal feeling for you boys and girls. I know that this school is going to help you to be good citizens.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
after having had dinner with the patients
Georgia Hall, Warm Springs Foundation, Warm Springs, Georgia,
March 24, 1937, 9.20 P.M.

(The patients and the waiters sang and put on several short skits. Fred Botts then spoke briefly, expressing the patients' appreciation to the President and spoke also of the old days at Warm Springs, particularly the episode relating to the old stage coach "which was gotten out of moth balls for the first time in about forty-one years and hitched to the Foundation mules." Those who rode in and on the coach were dressed in "ante bellum" clothes for the occasion. "We started down this grade and all of a sudden the coach came up against the mules and they stopped right then and there and, with keen deliberation, just kicked blazes out of the front part of the coach.")

Members of the Warm Springs family: That is the first time I ever heard the true story of the famous ride of the old stage coach.

I go back, of course, a great deal further than Fred (Botts) does -- six months further. That is because Fred came in the spring of 1925 and I came in the fall of 1924. I will have to tell one on Fred: One afternoon the afternoon train came in and at that time I was all alone down here at what was then a southern summer resort, very much down at the heels. It had been a famous place nearly a hundred years before. I think Fred, who knows all things, will verify the fact that in the old hotel registers that went back to 1840 you will find the name of Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun and a lot of prominent statesmen of that period. But the old place had fallen on rather thin days and when I came down here in the fall of 1924 they had had a very poor season

and the man who ran the hotel -- well, he was in the red and most of his knives and forks had disappeared and most of the crockery had been broken. I was having a very lonely time down here. There wasn't any doctor and there wasn't anybody else except a dear old mailman who went around once a day, reading all the postcards and telling everybody about everybody else's family affairs.

And then, during that winter, some of our friends the newspaper men, who always have to write things in order that you may have newspapers to read, they wrote a story and the story was to this effect: that there were two people in the United States who had swum their way back to health; one was a man who had once run for Vice President of the United States away back in 1920 and there were pictures of that man swimming around in a pool at Warm Springs. Then there was a picture of a lady, with what, in those days, was a very skimpy bathing suit, by the name of Annette Kellerman, and she had swum her way back to health. And so it went on and told all about Warm Springs.

Of course Miss Kellerman had never heard about Warm Springs but the fact that her photograph in this lovely bathing suit appeared in the same paper, on the same page with mine, that was the making of Warm Springs.

So, in the spring of 1925, one afternoon when the train came in there were two gentlemen who came off the train, one of them in the arms of the other. And the one in the arms of the other was Fred. And there was also a lady who came off the train and she came off in the arms of the brakeman. She was a lady from St. Louis who weighed about two hundred pounds.

Well, I did not know what to do about it. I had not the

faintest idea. They assumed, of course, that I was a doctor and a lot of people since then have assumed that I am a doctor. So, in the meanwhile, we put Fred to bed and we put the lady to bed and in the morning they came down to the pool. Well, Fred -- I wish you could have seen him. I thought he was in the advanced stages of tuberculosis so I got Dr. Johnson to come over from Manchester to look him over because I thought we would have to do more than send for a doctor. Well, the doctor said that fundamentally, although he could not move a leg or an arm, there was nothing the matter with him. (Laughter) So we put him in the pool and he sank. (Laughter) So we got Fred a life preserver and from that time on he sort of floated gaily around the pool. Mind you, that was the public pool; we did not have any patients' pool in those days. And the two hundred pound lady? We put her in the pool and she floated. In fact, she floated high. (Laughter)

Well, of course we had to give them the exactly diametric opposite way of treatment. We had to feed eggs and cream and all sorts of things to Fred to put flesh on his bones and, as to the lady, we had to feed her just as little as possible. So, as the days and weeks went by, old Dr. Roosevelt, who did not know anything about it at all, finally persuaded Fred to see if he could not get his legs down to the bottom of the pool. That was easy, because they did not have any flesh on them anyway. But, when it came to the lady, that was different. Old Dr. Roosevelt put the lady alongside the edge of the pool -- there was a hand rail there -- and I said, "Just concentrate. Use your mind. Just think about getting that leg down to the bottom of the pool." Well, she would get about half way down and then I would take hold of her right leg and push a little and push a little and finally got the whole leg down to the

bottom of the pool. And finally I said, "Concentrate and hold it there." And she would say, "I have it there." And then, gently, I would move over to get the left leg down and as I moved the left leg down up came the right leg. (Laughter)

So you see these girls who think they are physiotherapists don't know anything about it. I invented it first.

So it went on for a period of years and I have forgotten when it was -- Fred, about 1927 you and Dr. Hubbard and I were perfectly thrilled. We had a Thanksgiving Dinner down here and as I remember it, at that first dinner in the old firetrap of a hotel we had seventy people present and we just cheered. We patted ourselves on the back and Dr. Hubbard made speeches and Fred made speeches and I made two or three dozen speeches and we had a perfectly grand evening.

Well, after a very few years, before the old firetrap of a hotel was torn down, we got to the point where we had over two hundred people in the old hotel dining room and then we were told, after it was all over, the fact that while we were there the whole hotel had sunk six inches into the ground. When we heard that, we decided that that kind of a place for people to take treatments in and live in was just too dangerous to life and limb. That was the origin of the newer Warm Springs.

I don't want anybody to think that this is a completed Warm Springs. We have only just started, just in the same way that the treatment of polio has advanced, as it has during the past twelve or fifteen years, to a perfectly amazing extent so that you people who are in wheel chairs and walking around with canes and braces, you can all

be very happy in the fact that today medical science will give you a much better break than if you had started fifteen or twenty years ago. The medical end of this thing that is putting us back on our feet is growing just like Warm Springs is growing, and Warm Springs is going to grow in the days to come in proportion to the things we learn each year about better methods for the treatment of infantile paralysis.

Every year that I come down here I go over blueprints. I went out to a picnic yesterday afternoon and I spent a good part of the time looking at blueprints. Well, those blueprints show us the Warm Springs of the future only so far as we today can analyze. We know that we have a long way to go. I am very happy of course to see what has been accomplished in the past twelve or fourteen years but, at the same time, I am quite confident that in the next twelve or fourteen years we are going to make even greater progress than we have in the past. That relates not only to the actual physical end of it, the treatment down here that young people and old people are going to go through -- in increasing numbers by the way, because I am not the least bit satisfied with treating a hundred or a hundred and ten people at one time; I would like to see a lot more treated -- it is not only that, it is the fact that in the future, with this development in medical science, in this development of the physical end of Warm Springs, we are going to keep alive for everybody down here what has been known in the past as "the Warm Springs spirit." (Applause)

I wish that I could be here more, as all of you know. I have been away now for nearly eighteen months and I am counting, although I missed a visit in 1936, I am counting on making two in 1937. (Applause) I am counting on coming back here and realizing that the spirit of Warm

Springs is just as much a fact as it was in the old days when we had to do a lot of things for ourselves. I am quite sure also that the country is beginning to understand that it owes a duty to all of us who, for one reason or another, are handicapped to a certain extent in one way or another. There is no reason in the world why every one of you youngsters, some of you flat on your backs, some in plaster casts, some with arm splints -- there is no reason in the world why some of you should not be able to, as I used to call it in college, "pull your own weight in the boat." The communities you live in, I think, are going to give you a chance to pull your own weight in the boat when you grow up, whether you be boys or girls, and that is something that is encouraging, so encouraging that every one of you can work toward the idea and ideal of pulling your own weight in the boat.

I am sorry I have to go away on Friday. I am told that I am perfectly unnecessary in Washington, that things are going so quietly there that I might as well be here. I am inclined to think that is perfectly true; there is a good deal more of truth in that than one would imagine. The country is going along all right and that is true, too, of Warm Springs. In the past year I have been devoting much of my time to the country and I am inclined to think that in the future I shall be able to devote a little more of my time to Warm Springs.

(Applause)

One difficulty about being away for yearly a year and a half is that there are a whole lot of you that I have not met yet. So tonight, before I go out, I am going to stand at the door and get acquainted with a lot of you and I hope to see many of you back here next Thanksgiving time, when we will have a real old-fashioned turkey dinner. (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Pine Mountain Resettlement Project
March 25, 1937, 3.15 P.M.

(The President was presented with a flag as a token of appreciation.)

It is mighty good to see all you children and I think you are a mighty fine looking crowd. I hope to come back and see you all in November.

I have been tremendously impressed with the small corner of Pine Mountain Valley I have seen.

There has been tremendous improvement over the time I was here nearly a year and a half ago and I am very happy that this work that the Government is helping in is going so well.

I know you all realize that the Government cannot make it succeed. It is you people who can make it succeed and I know you are going to, from the oldest down to the youngest baby. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
At the Easter Egg-Rolling--South Portico
March 29, 1937, 3:15 P.M.

I think that this is the record crowd through all the years. I am told that more than 42,000 children and a few grown-ups (laughter) have passed through the gates already, and I suppose by sundown it will be past 50,000.

I wish very much that I could be out there rolling eggs with all of you this afternoon (applause) but I suppose I would have had to have a substitute because I had my eggs for breakfast. (Laughter and applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
delivered at a special session of the
Governing Board of the Pan American Union
on the occasion of the celebration of Pan American Day
Pan American Union
April 14, 1937, 11.00 A.M.

GENTLEMEN OF THE GOVERNING BOARD:

We of the Americas have cause for rejoicing today. We meet to celebrate Pan American Day under the happiest of auspices. All of the nations of the Western Hemisphere are enjoying the boon of peace, and with it, the orderly pursuit of the arts and sciences upon which rest the happiness and security of nations, no less than of individuals (depend). Four years ago it was my privilege to meet with you in the celebration of Pan American Day and now, as then, I bring to you and through you to the governments and peoples of your respective countries the cordial and fraternal greetings of the people of the United States.

We have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the situation today as compared with that in 1933. At that time we were in the throes of a devastating economic depression. In our international relations we were confronted by the unfortunate spectacle of two of our sister nations engaged in bitter warfare; and two other states on the verge of war. We were living in a period dominated by the destructive forces of suspicion and fear.

It is, therefore, with a feeling of profound satisfaction that we may today contemplate the great gains in our national economies, as well as in the international relations between the nations of the American Continents during this four-year period.

The war which was raging has happily been terminated; the

controversy which almost led to war has also fortunately been solved. The nations of America mutually recognize their interdependence. They know today that the welfare and prosperity of each is largely dependent upon the welfare and prosperity of all. By pursuing a policy of reciprocal concessions, in which the Government of the United States is happy to have had a part, the nations of America have made important contributions to the healthy flow of trade and improved economic conditions.

The progress of the last four years culminated in the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace at Buenos Aires, at which significant and far-reaching conclusions were reached. As you are aware, it was my personal privilege to attend the opening session and to meet many of the leaders of American thought and action. The deepest impression which I carried away was the potency of the unity of the Americas in developing democratic institutions in the New World and by example in helping the cause of world peace.

One of the outstanding lessons of the Conference was the clear perception on the part of the delegates of the close relation existing between international security and the normal development of democratic institutions. Democracy cannot thrive in an atmosphere of international insecurity. Such insecurity breeds militarism, regimentation and the denial of freedom of speech, of peaceful assemblage and of religion. Such insecurity challenges the ideals of democracy based on the free choice of government by the people themselves. And as (a) the logical development we of the Americas believe that the continued maintenance and improvement of democracy constitute the most important guarantee of international peace.

Moreover, the delegates to the Buenos Aires Conference well understood that peace is something more significant than the mere absence of conflict. A durable peace, one that will resist the onslaught of untoward or temporary circumstance, is something far more positive and constructive. It demands a policy based on positive international cooperation, on mutual confidence, and on united effort in the solution of problems of common concern. In the conventions and resolutions promoting intellectual cooperation and advancing mutual comprehension the Conference gave to the world an example which is destined to have far-reaching influence.

GENTLEMEN OF THE GOVERNING BOARD:

During the past four years we have traveled far, -- farther, I believe, than many of us four years ago thought possible. I am certain I interpret correctly your sentiments and those of your Governments and your peoples, when I say that we are determined to move forward toward the goal already in sight. On this day, dedicated to the twenty-one republics constituting the Pan American Union, let us pledge ourselves to giving practical effect to the conclusions reached at Buenos Aires, and let us dedicate ourselves anew to the strengthening of the bonds that unite us in the great American family of nations.

I express to you, on behalf of the Government and the people of the United States, a deep sense of obligation and gratitude for the unswerving devotion which your respective Governments and peoples have given to the cause which we all have so much at heart, -- the maintenance of peace on our continent. In this beautiful building, dedicated to the cause of peace, it is most fitting that we assemble today to

reaffirm our faith in the high destiny of the Americas.

(The President at this point went off the air, the broadcasters making their concluding remarks. The President then said, informally and extemporaneously:)

May I add one word? As they say, this is off the record. I have been thinking that it was just four years ago that I came back here to the Pan American Union. There were a few of you people here who were there at that time. At that time I made some remarks which, perhaps, led to hopes. Those remarks were followed up later on by action. Many statements and many speeches had been made before that by American statesmen that were not followed up by action. And, if you will remember, I think it was in August, 1933, that we had the first opportunity to put into practice what we have preached. At that time there was the unfortunate trouble in Cuba and I did something that was perhaps the forerunner, a prophecy, of what came later on at Buenos Aires. I asked the Ambassadors and the Ministers of all the American Republics to come to my office and on that occasion, sitting around my desk, I told the Ambassadors and Ministers that the United States was not going to intervene in Cuba, that we all wanted to help Cuba and that therefore any action that was taken in helping Cuba ought to be the action of the Americas.

On that particular day, in my office, some of the Ambassadors and Ministers were away because it was the middle of summer, but some of the Charges d'Affaires were here. On that day we put into practice, for the first time, what we have been preaching. Out of that first meeting have come the very remarkable, the amazing results

that culminated last autumn in Buenos Aires and that is why, to all of you personally, you old friends of mine who have been here for some time and you new friends of mine who have come more recently, I want to extend this word of personal greeting. I am awfully glad we know each other and have the kind of confidence in each other that is going to lead to a continuance of these past sittings. (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
from the rear platform of the Presidential special train
Gulfport, Mississippi,
April 29, 1937, 10.45 A.M., C.T.

(The President was introduced by Senator Pat Harrison.)

My friends, this has been, this morning, on my part, a sentimental journey. Nearly a quarter of a century ago I landed in Biloxi a very young Assistant Secretary of the Navy and I was met there by a very young Congressman named Pat Harrison. (Applause)

I am glad to be back and I am glad indeed to see the wonderful improvements that have taken place in these more than twenty years.

I do not know about Senator Harrison's fishing promises but if Texas does not work out I am coming back here to make him prove them.
(Laughter, applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
at the dedication of Franklin Delano Roosevelt Park
New Orleans, Louisiana
April 29, 1937, 4.10 P.M.

GOVERNOR LECHE, MAYOR MAESTRI:

I am very glad to come back, not only to this great city but also to the State of Louisiana. And I am proud to be the guest of the people of this state and the guest of your distinguished young Governor. (Applause)

I have been in this city many times before and I am very proud that a portion of the park has been named in my honor. I am glad, too, that the construction of this work has given useful employment to those of our citizens who could not find work in private employ. I am quite confident that the people of this country are in favor of giving useful work to the unemployed instead of putting them on a dole. (Applause)

I hope to come back here sometime again soon to see the completed stadium and the completed mall.

I have had a wonderful day here and I am sorry I cannot stay with you longer but I am coming back soon. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Galveston, Texas
May 11, 1937, 9.45 A.M.

GOVERNOR ALLRED, MR. MAYOR, MY FRIENDS OF GALVESTON:

I am glad to land here and I am going to come back.

(Applause) I am coming back to Texas waters not only to let this wonderful rod (a fishing rod was presented to the President by Mayor Levy) prove itself (laughter) but also to see you again, you who have given me this very wonderful reception.

I could tell you all kinds of fishing stories (laughter) but I will only tell you one, to prove the marvelous qualities of Texas. Yesterday one of our party got a twenty-four pound amberjack and this morning that same fish weighed thirty-five pounds. (Laughter)

I have been really thrilled in seeing not only Galveston but this wonderful esplanade. I have read about it many, many times. I have read of your beaches and today, in coming along the esplanade, I have wanted very much to stop and take a swim.

I recall now that this is the first time that I have ever been in Galveston. Back in 1928 I spent a somewhat hectic week in Houston (applause mixed with boos because of the rivalry between the two cities) but now I am glad to come down to the great ocean.
(Applause)

Thank you for all that you have done for me, Mr. Mayor and you good people of this city. I look forward to coming back and greeting you again in the near future.

Many thanks.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
Houston, Texas,
May 11, 1937

I am very glad to come back to Houston as the guest of the Governor and of the State of Texas. I have had a very wonderful ten days fishing in your hospitable waters and I might say that the fish are almost as grand as all of you are.

As you know, this is not by any means the first time I have been in Houston. I am always glad to come back here, and I might add that my better half is also glad to come to Houston.

It is good to see you all and I hope to come back again very soon.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
Texas A. & M. College
May 11, 1937
(Edited by the President)

PRESIDENT WALTON, MEN OF THE COLLEGE:

I have wanted to come here for a great many years. I go back in my mind to the days of the World War when Texas A. & M. graduates made, I believe, a greater contribution to the officer personnel of the United States Army than any other institution of learning in the United States, and I am proud of it.

About five minutes before the train got in somebody said, "Have you prepared your speech?" I said, "No, I am talking to a bunch of farmers, and I don't have to prepare speeches along that line."

My only surprise today came because President Walton had told me that this was not a coeducational college. Now I am wondering where all the ladies come from.

You men who are at Texas A. & M. have a double privilege -- the privilege first of all of working for better land use for the United States. That is something that is needed in every state in the Union.

Farming today has become not an occupation but a profession. We are thinking about farming, not just from the point of view of our own generation, as has been the case in the past 150 years, but in terms of the generations of Americans that are coming after us. We want to be able to hand on agriculture, not merely intact, but improved, and we all know there is a lot of room for improvement.

Your other opportunity here is part and parcel of the same thing. There is no particular use in handing on an improved agriculture

to our descendants unless we keep an intact nation, and that is why I am especially proud of the R. O. T. C.

Some people think of military training in terms of acute pacifism. You and I do not. We think of it in terms of the preservation of the Nation. When you come down to it, we are not paying a high price for national defense. In the United States last year, in spite of increased costs for the Army and Navy, we were spending only ten or eleven percent of the total cost of Government for our Army and Navy and preparation for them, such as this College. Most of the nations of the Old World are spending thirty and forty and even fifty percent of their government cost on their armies and navies.

We know another thing -- that our preparation is honestly made for defense and not for aggression. We devoutly hope that other nations in the world are going to get our point of view in the days to come in order that they may spend less of their national income in preparation for war and more of it for the arts of peace.

And so you here are accomplishing two great national purposes: you are preparing the land for the future generations of America and you are helping your country to keep that land safe for our boys and girls and their children.

Coming here today has been a great inspiration to me. As I said before, I have often heard of Texas A. & M. and I am proud that my "small boy" has something to do with it.

I wish I could stay with you and see more of your work and more of your play. I hope you win many victories this fall on this field.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT TO
THE WHITE HOUSE EXECUTIVE OFFICES
OF THE JAPANESE ECONOMIC MISSION

June 11, 1937 - 11 o'clock A.M.

THE PRESIDENT: It is awfully nice to see you all. You know, some day I am going to return your visit.
(Laughter and applause)

I have been very much pleased and very happy over the splendid results which have been obtained by "sitting around the table", as we call it.

I think it was last Summer that some of my very good friends went over there. You know, Cameron Forbes is a cousin of mine and Mr. Cason Calloway, with the cotton people, is a neighbor of mine down in Georgia, and he came back and said that any economic problems can be solved by sitting around a table. I think this is working out very well.

I hope you will see a great deal of this country -- all the different parts of it -- because, as you know, the geography is so big in the United States that we have a great many diverse problems that are very difficult to fit into each other, so that we have to have your understanding and your help.

(The President then spoke to the head of the Mission, asking him where he planned to spend the summer.)

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Hyde Park, New York
July 1, 1937

CAUTION: This address of the President, broadcast by him from Hyde Park on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of Canadian Confederation, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to all editions of newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 8:45 P.M., EASTERN DAYLIGHT SAVINGS TIME.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President

On behalf of the Government and people of the United States, it gives me sincere gratification to extend a word of greeting to our Canadian friends and to congratulate them on the seventieth anniversary of Canadian Confederation.

Through the years that have elapsed since that memorable July 1st, 1867, we of the United States have watched with the keenest and most sympathetic interest the splendid progress of the Canadian nation which, in ever increasing measure, commands our respect and inspires our affection. Individually and collectively, we pledge you the continuation of our warm friendship. I do not know of any greater gift in the power of nations or of individuals to bestow.

On this occasion the Canadian people will pause to contemplate the changes -- spiritual and cultural as well as material -- of the past seventy years. The field is broad, but in whatever direction you may look you will find just cause for pride. We rejoice with you in your past and your present and in the promise which the future holds.

Ours is an enviable record of friendship and amity, as witness an unfortified boundary of more than five thousand miles as the outward and visible token of mutual confidence and good will. This friendship between our two peoples is secure from every hazard of destruction or misunderstanding because it is based upon a common aspiration to maintain to defend and to perpetuate the democratic form of constitutional, representative government. In that spirit I salute our neighbor of the North. I congratulate the Canadian people on the successful achievements of free institutions through three score and ten years of Confederation. And as one who has spent so many happy moments on Canadian soil, I send you my affectionate greetings.

July 5, 1937.

H. H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS
BY THE PRESIDENT
Mt. Marion, New York, July 5, 1937.

My neighbors of Mount Marion:

I am very glad to come across the River back to the County to which my great, great, great, great grandfather came about the year 1670. At that time the records do not show it but I imagine that he engaged in farming because everybody else did. He also had the privilege of being a member of the local militia.

Last February, down in Washington, I got a letter and, because of the first two paragraphs of the letter, I am here today. After what Dr. See said, you will recognize that it was written by Mrs. Myer. She started this way:

"You must be weary of great affairs, so maybe this simple invitation will please you."

Some times I am weary of great affairs, but I would be a lot wearier if it were not for simple parties of this kind. And then Mrs. Myer went on. She said:

"What right have I to bother you? Just this: We are a plain, pioneer American family who for eight generations have lived in our Hudson Valley home and tilled the same acres that we wrested from the wilderness. We have been quiet, self-sustaining citizens for 227 years. Our service during the Revolution, I believe, is unparalleled as we gave eighteen sons to the service, not counting any of the daughters' children who are unrecorded. Since we helped then to make July fourth possible, would it be so unsuitable for our President to grant us a favor on this fourth of July?"

Mrs. Myer referred to her family's being a pioneer family today after 227 years and she is absolutely right! Some of our neighbors who are out on the Great Plains and on the Pacific Coast think of themselves as pioneers. I claim that we, after 227 years in the Hudson Valley, are just as much pioneers as they are. And, when you think of it, we have just as many new problems today as the original settlers of Ulster County and Dutchess County had in the Eighteenth Century or in the 17th Century, for that matter.

In a good many ways, their lives were a lot simpler. They had only to worry about a couple of kinds of government. We have to worry about a dozen different kinds of government. In their day, they had to protect themselves against their neighbors just as we do today. If you go back in the old records of the townships of the Hudson River Valley, you will find that two of the most important offices in the town were the office of Fence Viewer and the office of Pound Master. In other words, the Fence Viewer saw to it that the fence was equally contributed to by the men who owned the land on each side of the fence. You had to get some public authority to prevent one man from laying down on the job and not putting up his part of the fence and, in the same way, you had to have a Poundmaster to keep your pigs from straying onto my land. Yes, it was a delightfully simple government, but in those days they did protect themselves in the community against those people in the community who were a little bit careless about their neighbors' rights and property.

At first it was mostly a community affair and then it got to be a Colony affair and later a state affair and finally a national affair because, as civilization has gone on and grown up, we have found that, in order to get certain things done, it was necessary to organize on a larger scale than the township scale or the county scale or even the state scale. We would not have our highways today, this wonderful system of state roads, if it were not done under the direction and supervision of state government.

I was reading a book the other day, a book talking about the politics of a little over a hundred years ago and the good people of the Hudson River Valley who were all opposing this "crazy" idea of Governor Clinton to build a great, big ditch from Albany out to Buffalo. Well, the people here in the Hudson River Valley had a reason to object to the building of the Erie Canal because we of that time were the granary of New York City. Most of the wheat for the City of New York, most of the oats for the horses down there, most of the rye, most of the corn that was used in the City was grown in the Hudson River Valley for the very simple reason that the people out in the western part of the state had no means of transporting their products to the City.

But Governor DeWitt Clinton was thinking about the whole State. He was thinking about thousands of people who had moved out beyond the Catskill Mountains -- think of it, away out in the wilderness -- and they had no way of making a decent livelihood if they couldn't get the products of their farms into the City. And so, over the opposition of us people here in the Valley who, frankly, were too selfish in thinking only about ourselves, the Legislature and the Governor built "Clinton's big ditch", the Erie Canal.

Well, it did hurt our farms in the Hudson River Valley to a certain extent, but I noticed that the Myer family did not become extinct because of that and neither did the Roosevelt family. Since then, in the later generations, we have invented new kinds of crops -- not just the crops that we raise on our own soil but the crops that come to us every summer out of the big City, and they are very welcome. They are welcome to us who belong to the older families in the Valley because they mean a more rounded-out life. And, as these new things come about, it means, of course, more complexities of government.

I hope the new generation, just like the older generation, will realize that in meeting these new conditions we are not changing the fundamentals of the American form of government. In my belief, we are always going to keep our feet on the ground as a Nation in the future just as we have in the past.

This has been a good Fourth of July for the country. We are so much better off in the United States than a whole lot of other nations of the world that I wish we could pass some of our peace on to them. I wish we could give them some of the fundamentals of our American Democracy.

Yesterday, at Hyde Park, a very distinguished European writer, a great biographer, was visiting me and yesterday afternoon, over back of our place, at what we call the Cottage, we had a little picnic. We had some neighbors there and we had some members of the Press there. And this great biographer was perfectly amazed because there we were, sitting around in our shirt sleeves and some of them going in swimming in the pool and everybody having a good time with complete informality, and he said, "You know, if this happened anywhere in Europe, whether it was a dictatorship or a monarchy or a republic, the head of the nation would have been surrounded by men in uniform, soldiers with bayonets, and the members of the press would have appeared in frock coats and silk hats instead of shirt sleeves and bathing suits."

You can multiply that example of the difference between our American form of living and what it is in Europe a thousand times. That is why I say I am very confident of the future of this country as long as we maintain the democracy of our manners and the democracy of our hearts.

That is why it has been a happy Fourth of July for me. Mrs. Myer, I am glad you asked me to come as far back as last February. I am glad to be here today and I hope to come back again soon.

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July 12, 1937

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be delivered on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the Apex Building, is for release in all editions of newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 5:15 o'clock, P.M., Eastern Standard Time, today.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

CHAIRMAN AYRES, MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Most of the great Federal Commissions were set up in the belief that "an ounce of prevention was worth a pound of cure". The Federal Trade Commission was no exception to that sound legislative intent. Prevention of unfair business practices is generally better than punishment administered after the fact of infringements, costly to the consuming public and to honest competitors.

Great and incalculable impacts have shaken the economic world in the period since the Commission began its work. The most disastrous depression in the history of business has given new and forcible emphasis to the need for just the contribution which the Commission has made to our economic life.

All of the fine things achieved in the interest of fair trade practice since the approval by President Wilson in September, 1914 of the original Federal Trade Commission Act justify the event for which we are assembled here today: the laying of the cornerstone of a new home for the Commission. The record of accomplishments in the interest of fair competition, in prosperous times and when evil days were upon the land, warrants that this body shall have a habitation adequate to its needs and in keeping with the importance of the tasks which it has accomplished and will continue to perform in the protection of American trade.

The vision of Woodrow Wilson has been vindicated again. When that far-seeing statesman asked the Congress in January, 1914 to create the Federal Trade Commission he saw in the realm of trade and commerce a field in which prevention was indeed better than punishment.

To the Federal Trade Commission, therefore, was given the task of protecting competitive business from further inroads by monopoly and of assuring to the public the fullest possible measure of benefit growing out of the competitive system. When the Commission discovered practices which were unfair or which tended toward monopoly, it was to deal with them by injunction rather than by punishment, punishment being reserved for the violator of the injunction.

Undoubtedly, in large measure improvement in business ethics has been helped by the constant play of the light of publicity, growing out of the administration of Acts such as the Federal Trade Commission Act.

But the dangers to the country growing out of monopoly and out of unfair methods of competition still exist and still call for action. They make the work of the Federal Trade Commission of vital importance in our economic life. We must not be lulled by any sense of false security. Eternal vigilance is the price of opportunity for

honest business. It is the price we must pay if business is to be allowed to remain honest and to carry on under fair competitive conditions, protected from the sharp or shady practices of the unscrupulous.

The erection of this splendid home for the Federal Trade Commission completes the architectural unit facing on Constitution Avenue.

Furthermore, it carries forward the plan of housing eventually in Government owned buildings all of the Departments and Agencies of the Federal Government in the District of Columbia. During the greater part of its existence the Federal Trade Commission has been housed in temporary lath and plaster construction of the World War years. Many other Departments and Agencies have been and are housed in rented buildings. The War Department, for example, is scattered over eighteen locations, for most of which the Government pays a large annual rental. Dictates of economy and good business sense call for a continuation of the erection of Federal buildings in order, over a comparatively short period of years, to save the taxpayers' money.

May this permanent home of the Federal Trade Commission stand for all time as a symbol of the purpose of the Government to insist on a greater application of the Golden Rule to the conduct of corporations and business enterprises in their relationship to the body politic.

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July 31, 1937

This address of the President, to be delivered by radio on the occasion of the dedication of the American Monument at Montfaucon, France, on Sunday, August 1, 1937, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

Release upon delivery, expected about 9:52 A. M., Eastern Standard Time, Sunday, August 1, 1937.

Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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M. le President de la Republique Francaise, M. le Marechal Petain, Ambassador Bullitt, General Pershing, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Though the seas divide us, the people of France and the people of the United States find union today in common devotion to the ideal which the memorial at Montfaucon symbolizes. That ideal, to which both nations bear faithful witness, is the ideal of freedom under democracy -- liberty attained by government founded in democratic institutions.

In a real sense this monument, which we have reared on the French hillside to commemorate the victory of our First Army in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, symbolizes that devotion.

Today we reaffirm our faith in the democratic ideal. It was in defense of that ideal that we entered the great war twenty years ago. In the Meuse-Argonne, we fought as champions of the rights of mankind. Neither France nor the United States sought or seeks conquest -- neither had nor has imperial designs. Both desire to live at peace with all nations. Both seek kinship with lovers of liberty wherever they are found.

France is carrying on in the tradition of a great civilization, a civilization with which our own culture has had full communion from our very beginnings as a nation. We, of this country, have not forgotten nor could we ever forget the aid given us by France in the dark days of the American Revolution.

Our historic friendship finds apt expression in the quotation from a letter which Washington wrote to Rochambeau, and which is inscribed on the base of our monument to the great Frenchman: "We have been contemporaries and fellow-laborers in the cause of liberty, and we have lived together as brothers should do, in harmonious friendship."

Many things have gone into the making of the France which we revere and with whose culture we find ourselves in close communion. All of the past speaks to us in the living present, and out of the shadows of a thousand years emerge the glory and the achievement which are France.

These things we remember today, nor do we forget the living France: the green fields around Montfaucon, with broad farms and contented dwellers on the soil; the villages and cities with their artists and artisans -- all these make and preserve the France we hail today.

To the preservation of this civilization American soldiers and sailors contributed their lives and lie buried on this and other battlefields. They died brothers-in-arms with Frenchmen. And in their passing America and France gained deeper devotion to the ideals of democracy.

In their name, for their sake, I pray God no hazard of the future may ever dissipate or destroy that common ideal. I greet the Republic of France, firm in the confidence that a friendship as old as the American nation will never be suffered to grow less.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
delivered at Manteo, Roanoke Island, North Carolina
Wednesday, August 18, 1937, 3:30 P.M.

GOVERNOR HOLT, CONGRESSMAN WARREN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA AND YOU, THE VISITORS FROM VIRGINIA PLANTATIONS AND OTHER PLACES:

The thousands of us who are gathered here today are reliving American history and, that being so, I think it is entirely fitting that we should look back for a moment on those three and one-half centuries.

Until comparatively recent years history was taught as a series of facts and dates. Today we are beginning to look more closely into the events (which) that preceded and caused those great social and economic and political changes which (have) deeply affected the (known) history of the world.

For example, most of us older people have learned (of) about Columbus' voyages, and of how America came to be (named) called Amer-
ica -- and then we jumped from there in our North American history to
the founding of Jamestown and (of) Plymouth -- all the way from 1492
to 1607 with a mere passing reference to Roanoke and perhaps another
passing reference to the voyage of Varazzano along this coast.

But it has always been a pet theory of mine, that I have
not been able to prove yet, that many other voyages of exploration
and of trade took place in that century along our (American) shores.
We know that during the same period the Spaniards to the south of us
were (established) establishing great colonies throughout the West
Indies, at Panama and other points in Central America, and (extended)
extending their cities, their religious institutions and even their

universities to both the east and west coasts of South America. And
so, to me, it is unbelievable that white men did not come scores of
times to what is today the Atlantic Seaboard of the United States.
Some day perhaps a closer search of the records of the seafaring
towns of Britain and France and Flanders and Holland and Scandinavia
will rediscover discoverers. Perhaps even it is not too much to hope
that documents in the old country and even excavations in the new may
throw some further light, however dim, on the fate of the "Lost Colony"
and (Roanoke and) Virginia Dare.

If we are to understand the full significance of the early
explorations and the early settlements in North America, if we are
to understand the kind of world upon which Virginia Dare opened her
eyes on that far-away (August) day of August, in 1587, we must ask
the question why Western Europe came to (the) this New World.

It was in part because the era was an era of restless
action. Under the Renaissance men experienced great awakenings --
they were fired with restless energy to burst the narrow bounds of
the medieval conception of (the Universe) a flat world -- to fare
forth on voyages of exploration and of conquest.

Many of (those) the people who sailed in immense discomfort,
in tiny ships, across the Atlantic, (they were adventurers -- some (of
them) seeking riches, some seeking fame, and some impelled by the mere
spirit of unrest. But most of (them) the people who came in the early
days to America -- the men, (the) women and (the) children, came
(hither) seeking something (very) different -- they came seeking an
opportunity which they could not find in their homes of the old world.

We hear of the gentlemen of title, who, on occasion, came to

the Colonies, and we hear of the gentlemen of wealth who helped to fit out (the) expeditions. But it is a simple fact which cannot too often be stressed that an overwhelming majority of those who came to the Colonies from England and Scotland and Ireland and Wales and France and Holland and Sweden and Germany, they belonged to what our British cousins would, even today, call "the lower middle classes." (Applause) The opportunity they sought was something they did not have at home -- opportunity freely to exercise their own chosen form of religion, opportunity to get into an environment where there were no classes, opportunity to escape from a system which still contained most of the elements of Feudalism.

This is said not in derogation of those pioneers. It is rather in praise of them. They had the courage, physically and mentally, by deed and word, to seek better things, to try to capture ideals and hopes that were forbidden to them by the laws and rulers of their own home lands.

And it is well, too, (that we) to bear in mind that in all the pioneer settlements democracy and not feudalism was the rule. The men had to take their turn standing guard at the stockades raised against the Indians. The women had to take their turn husking corn stored for the winter supply of the community. In other words, they were all working for the life and success of the community. Rules of conduct had to be established to keep private greed or personal misconduct in check. And I fear very much that if certain modern Americans, who protest loudly their devotion to American ideals, were suddenly to be given a comprehensive view of the earliest American colonists and their methods of life and government, these modern Americans

(they) would promptly label them socialists. They would forget that in these pioneer settlements were all the germs of the later American Constitution.

They would forget, too, that although in the days that intervened between Roanoke and Jamestown and Plymouth, and the time of the American Revolution itself, practical democracy was carried on in the lives of the inhabitants of nearly every community in the Thirteen Colonies. It is true that as commerce developed in the seaboard cities, and as a few great landed estates were set up here and there, a school of thought parallel with the same school of thought in England made great headway.

It was this policy which came into the open in the Constitutional Convention of 1787; for remember that in that Convention there were some who wanted a King, there were some who wanted to create titles, and there were many, like Alexander Hamilton, who sincerely believed, honestly believed, that suffrage and the right to hold office should be confined to persons of property and persons of education. We know, however, that although (this) that school of thought persisted, with the assistance of the newspapers of the day, during the first three National Administrations, it was eliminated (for many years at least), destroyed under the leadership of President Thomas Jefferson and his successors. (His) And so history tells us and we have proved that Thomas Jefferson's was the first great battle for the preservation of democracy. His was the first great victory for American democracy.

And in (the) that half century that followed there was constant war between those who, like Andrew Jackson, believed in a

democracy conducted by and for a complete cross section of the population and, on the other hand, those who, like the private Directors of the Bank of the United States and their friends in the United States Senate, believed in the conduct of Government by a self-perpetuating group at the top of the ladder. (Applause) That this was the clear line of demarcation -- the fundamental difference of opinion in regard to American institutions is proved by an amazingly interesting letter which the great historian, Lord Macaulay, wrote eighty years ago, in 1857, to an American friend.

This American friend of his had written a book about Thomas Jefferson, and Macaulay (said) wrote him this:

"You are surprised to learn that I have not a high opinion of Mr. Jefferson and I am surprised at your surprise. I am certain that I never wrote a line and that I have never uttered a word indicating an opinion that the supreme authority in a state ought to be entrusted to the majority of citizens told by the head; in other words, to the poorest and most ignorant part of society."

Macaulay, in other words, was opposed to what (we) you and I call "popular government."

And he went on to say this:

"I have long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty, or civilization, or both."

And then, speaking of England, he (says) went on to say:

"I have not the smallest doubt that, if we had a

purely democratic government here, the effect would be the same You may think that your country (speaking of America) enjoys an exception from these evils I am of a very different opinion. Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by a physical cause. As long as you (in America) have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the old world, and while that is the case, the Jeffersonian polity may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity."

He wanted to be kind.

"But the time will come when New England will be as thickly (peopled) populated as Old England. Wages will be as low and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams, and in those Manchesters and Birminghams hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. Distress everywhere makes the laborer mutinous and discontented and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators who tell him that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million while another cannot get a full meal."

And then Macaulay goes on to tell his American friend how they handled such situations in England. He says this:

"In bad years there is plenty of grumbling here and

sometimes a little rioting, but it matters little. For here the sufferers are not the rulers. The supreme power is in the hands of a class, numerous indeed, but select an educated class a class which is, and knows itself to be, deeply interested in the security of property and the maintenance of order. Accordingly the malcontents are firmly yet gently restrained. The bad time is got over without robbing the wealthy to relieve the indigent. The springs of national prosperity soon begin to flow again and all is tranquility and cheerfulness."

Almost, methinks, I am not reading (not) from Macaulay (but) almost, methinks, I am quoting from a resolution of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Liberty League, the National Association of Manufacturers or the editorials written at the behest of some well-known newspaper proprietors in 1936 and 1937. (Applause)

Yes, like these gentlemen of 1936 and (19)37, Macaulay in 1837, eighty years before, painted(this) that gloomy picture of the future of the United States - he goes on to say this:

"I cannot help foreboding the worst. It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority"

Get that -- restrain a majority!

"The day will come to us when a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a legislature On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights"

On the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne and to ride in a carriage while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessities I seriously apprehend,"

says Macaulay.

"that you will, in some such season of adversity do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people who should in a year of scarcity devour all the seed corn and thus make the next year a year, not of scarcity but of absolute famine There is nothing to stop you. Your constitution is all sail and no anchor Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your Republic will be laid waste by Barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth."

That, my friends, with all due respect to Lord Macaulay, is an excellent representation of the cries of alarm which rise today from the throats of American Lord Macaulays. (Applause) They tell you that America drifts toward the Scylla of dictatorship on the one hand, or the Charybdis of anarchy on the other. Their anchor for the salvation of the Ship of State is Macaulay's anchor: "Supreme power in the hands of a class, numerous indeed, but select; of an educated class, of a class which is, and knows itself to be, deeply interested in the security of property and the maintenance of order."

Mine is a different anchor. (Applause) They do not believe

in democracy -- I do. (Applause) My anchor is democracy -- and more democracy. And, my friends, I am of the firm belief that (the) this Nation of ours, by an overwhelming majority, supports my opposition to the vesting of supreme power in the hands of any class, numerous but select.

It is of interest to read the whole of this letter of Macaulay's (letter) with care -- for I find in it no single reference to the improving of the living conditions of the poor, to the encouragement of better homes or greater wages, or steadier work. I find no reference to the averting of panics, no words for the encouragement of the farmer -- nothing at all, in fact, except the suggestion that "malcontents are firmly but gently restrained" in the interest of the "security of property and the maintenance of order."

I conceive it to be true that I am just as strongly in favor of the security of property and the maintenance of order as Lord Macaulay or as the American Lord Macaulays who thunder today. And in this the American people are with me, too. But we cannot go along with the Tory insistence that salvation of the Nation lies in the vesting of power in the hands of a select class, and that if America does not come to that system, America will perish.

Macaulay condemned the American scheme of government based on popular majority. And in this country eighty years later his successors do not yet dare openly to condemn the American form of government by popular majority, for they profess adherence to the form, (while) but, at the same time, their every act shows their opposition to the very fundamentals of democracy. They love to intone praise of liberty, to mouth phrases about the sanctity of our Constitution --

but in their hearts they distrust majority rule because an enlightened majority will not tolerate (the) abuses which a privileged minority would seek to foist upon the people as a whole.

And since the determination of (this) many who compose this minority is to substitute their will for that of the majority, would it not be more honorable, more honest for them, instead of using the Constitution of the United States as a cloak to hide their real designs, to come out frankly and say: "We agree with Macaulay that the American form of government will lead to disaster and therefore we seek a change in the American form of government as laid down by the Founding Fathers"?

Yes, they seek to substitute their own will for that of the majority, for they would serve their own interest above the general welfare. They reject the principle of the greater good for the greater number, which is the cornerstone of democratic American government.

And an interesting thing has happened under this form of democratic government. (Under democratic government) Under it the poorest are no longer necessarily the most ignorant part of society, and thank God for that. I agree with the saying of one of our famous statesmen who devoted (himself) his whole life to the principle of majority rule, when he said:

"I respect the aristocracy of learning; I deplore the plutocracy of wealth; but I thank God for the democracy of the heart."

I seek, you seek no change in the form of American government. Majority rule must be preserved as the safeguard of both lib-

erty and civilization.

Under it property can be secure; under it abuses can end; under it order can be maintained -- and all of this for the simple, cogent reason that to the average of our citizenship can be brought, and I believe will be brought, a life of greater opportunity, of greater security, and of greater happiness.

Those worthy hopes led the father and mother of Virginia Dare, three and a half centuries ago, to come to the New World, (and the) and those hopes have led fathers and mothers from many nations, through many centuries to seek new life in the New World. Pioneering it was called in the olden days; and pioneering it still is -- pioneering for the preservation of our fundamental institutions against the ceaseless attack of those who have no faith in democracy. Fortitude and courage on our part succeed today the fortitude and courage of those who planted a colony on this spot, on this Island in the days of good Queen Bess (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
to the Graduate Nurses at the Hudson River State Hospital
near Poughkeepsie, New York
September 10, 1937, 4.40 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Judge Hopkins, who mentioned the fact that the estate was owned by the President's father in 1867 and that the President's father had become a member of the Board of Trustees in 1872.)

DR. FOLSOM, MEMBERS OF THE BOARD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND YOU OF THE GRADUATE NURSES:

I am very glad to have a chance to come down here today to renew a very old acquaintanceship that goes back to my earliest days when, as a very small boy, I used to come down here with my father and hold the horses while he attended the Board meetings. And I remember one of my earliest recollections when I was about ten years old, one of the few times that I ever saw my father thoroughly upset. He came back into the carriage to drive back to Hyde Park and he was quite silent. I knew what he wanted to say, and I said, "What happened?" "Well," he said, "I had the most terrible time because we were going through -- the Board of Managers -- one of the wards and there was a perfectly dear, sweet old lady in the ward but as soon as she caught sight of me she jumped up out of her chair and said, 'Why, Albert, don't you remember your Vicky?' She insisted that she was Queen Victoria and that I was Prince Albert."

So, from those earliest days on up to the time I became Governor I have always driven through here very often and kept in touch with this perfectly splendid institution of the State of New York.

And then, when I went to Albany, a very curious thing happened. I knew the Hudson River State Hospital so well that during the whole four years I was in Albany I never inspected this hospital -- it was too close to home. I did not have to inspect it.

But during those four years we did, I think, a very great thing for mental hygiene in this State because when I got to Albany in 1928 I found that we were something like five or six thousand beds short. There was a great deal of overcrowding and a great deal of suffering and we launched at that time this big building program you are all familiar with, with the result that today, with nearly all of the building activities completed, the State of New York stands, I think, first among all the states of the Union in its care of mental hygiene cases.

As Governor I made a number of inspection trips and during those trips I became very familiar with all the other State Hospitals and I had all kinds of interesting experiences. I remember when we were up on the St. Lawrence near Ogdensburg, I was driving through the grounds with the Superintendent in an open car, just like this one, and as we drove through the grounds there was a very sensible looking old gentleman who was mowing the grass. As we approached, -- the Governor of the State and the Superintendent of the Hospital -- he put down his mowing machine and stood at the edge of the road and, as we went by, took off his cap most politely and put it back on his head. My family were in the car behind and after we got about fifty feet past him, I heard the family roaring with laughter. I could not do anything about it so when we got back to the Superintendent's house I asked them what the joke was and they told me that the old gentleman, after we got

safely past, had put his hat back on his head and put his thumb up to his nose. (Illustrating -- laughter)

So I told the Superintendent I did not think there was anything the matter with him and that he ought to be sent home. (Laughter)

I am glad to see my old friend, Dr. Parsons, over here in the back row. I am awfully, awfully sorry he is leaving the Department (of Hygiene, of the State of New York) because the people of the State of New York and a good many Governors have depended on him for all these years. He has done a wonderful job and I am awfully sorry he is leaving the public service. We shall miss him very much. (Applause) And I think in these years that he and I have been in Albany -- he knows more about it than I do -- it is a very remarkable thing what progress has been made in mental hygiene. Even during the short time I was in Albany, the number of cases that were cured, sent home able to resume their life in the community, represented a constantly increasing percentage. It is one of the most interesting examples of the kind of work being done today by medical science.

You young ladies who are graduating today have a great responsibility in carrying on the progress we are making. You are performing an excellent service for the people of the State.

I am glad to have been here today and I hope to see many of you in the years to come. (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
at the Annual Gathering of the Roosevelt Home Club
Moses Smith's Farm at Val-Kill, New York
September 11, 1937, 3.15 P.M.

(On the platform, among others, were Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. O'Day, Mayor Spratt, Judge John E. Mack, James Townsend and Arthur Smith, the latter newly elected President of the Roosevelt Home Club.)

MINE HOST, PRESIDENT ARTHUR AND JOHNNY:

I am awfully glad that this has become a firmly established annual occasion and I hope it will go on through all the years.

I wonder how Spratty (Mayor Spratt in his speech had spoken of the rigors of official life) would feel if he had to sleep in a strange house about ten months out of the year the way I do. I can't even go home at night. (Laughter) I don't know, I suppose there are six or eight acres on the south side of the White House grounds, but we country people, down there we call it the back yard. And a city always seems like a city, even if you live in a huge affair like the White House, comfortable as it is.

I wish I could get back here a little bit more often and I wish, when I do get back here, I could have a little bit more time for myself and for the neighborhood. As a matter of fact, in spite of that famous fishing trip, where we had a plane arriving with a huge package of mail every single morning, taking another return package of mail back to Washington, even with that fishing trip I have not had more than two or three hours since I came back from Washington this time to myself, largely, of course, due to the world conditions, and they are not any better than they seem to those of us who read the

newspapers. They are pretty serious and I am glad, as Mrs. O'Day said, that we are going to do everything we can in the United States, not only the people of the United States but the Government of the United States, to keep us out of war. (Applause)

Some people laugh at planning. Well, keeping out of war requires some planning, just as much as running things in these school districts takes some planning. In the old days people did not have to plan very much. A good many years ago I helped to edit a book reproducing the town records, the early town records of the Town of Hyde Park. Even then there had to be all kinds of planning -- that was well over a hundred years ago -- to protect the community against certain dangers. Well, they were local dangers. They had fence viewers and pound masters and all kinds of things that we have been able to get rid of with the progress of civilization. They did not know a lot of things in those days that we know today. If they had known them, we would be a whole lot better off today.

In an old Poughkeepsie newspaper of 1841 -- I think it is just about a hundred years ago -- the man who owned this farm that we are standing on at this time produced the largest yield of corn of any farmer in Dutchess County, a very much larger yield than almost anybody in Dutchess County could possibly raise today. Well, Moses knows and I know what this farm was like when we came here. It was brought to a condition that was caused by lack of planting. Well, you could not blame them seventy-five and a hundred years ago for putting nothing back into the land because the land was virgin land and, after all, the main thing was to get all the cash you possibly could out of the land. Dutchess County was the granary of New York City and the more

corn you could ship down there the richer you were. But of course we know today that if our ancestors and the original owners of this land of ours had known enough about agriculture, as much as we do, and had put things back into the soil, we would be a whole lot better off in these modern times. And so it goes; we have had a lot of narrow escapes because we haven't thought much beyond the end of our own noses.

I was driving through the middle part of the county the last time I was here in early August and I was struck by the number of lovely streams we have in the county, not only the larger creeks, like the Wappingers, but also the Krum Elbow and a lot of the smaller creeks, and it occurred to me what a wonderful escape we had. I don't suppose there are more than a dozen people who remember the escape we had. John Mack will because he, to a certain extent, and I were responsible for the escape. Back only about fifteen years ago there was a bill introduced in the legislature by the New York City representatives to give the city of New York the right to come up into Dutchess County and create a great water system, the watershed with reservoirs on the headwaters of Wappingers Creek, the main branch and the branch that runs up towards Clinton Hollow, and the same thing with the headwaters of the Roeliss Jansen Kill, which runs along the boundary, a large part of the boundary, between Columbia and Dutchess Counties. The bill, as I remember it, passed one House and yet there was hardly anybody in the County of Dutchess that woke up to the fact that our resources were being taken away from us.

I was south at the time. I telegraphed to John and John went up to Albany and we succeeded in preventing the passage of the bill. In other words, we were just thinking to the ends of our own noses and

no further. As I remember it, the newspapers of the county took the view that the purchase of these lands for the reservoirs would bring a lot of money into the county, forgetting entirely that while it might bring some cash into the county, and while it might put a lot of people to work for two years or three years or four years, it would take, after that was over, most of the water supply out of the county, and also the water level and make a vast acreage, thousands and thousands of acres, uninhabitable. There would be no purchasing power left, there would be reservoirs that nobody could use -- you could not swim or boat on them. There would be no agriculture, nothing at all and nobody employed except a few people to watch the dams. And all for a few dollars today, not thinking about the future.

Well, that was an escape that the county had and there were very, very few people in the county that woke up to the danger at that time. I think most of us are very happy today that we saved the water of this county because, as we see things now, we know the real demand there is on the part of people from the outside, New York City and other places, to come up here and establish homes, the real chance there is to plan for permanent lakes in the county, for a better water supply, to bring people out to join us and increase, incidentally, not only our population but the wealth of the county.

I use that just as a local illustration. You can go on in a thousand different ways. Whoever thought a hundred years ago about the system of highways we have today? I can remember, when I was a small boy, that the people who owned land in the county paid practically nothing in the way of highway taxes. They did pay in teams and labor and every farmer was assessed so many days with his team of oxen

or his team of horses and a couple of men to work on the roads. It saved us a lot of money but you can't keep roads going or build roads that way today, so we have come down to a cash basis.

I have been a little amused, as most people in the town of Hyde Park have, by the outcry by certain -- what shall I say? -- groups in the county against the construction of the East Park -- Rhinebeck Highway. However, it is being built (applause) and I lost a hat on it. (Applause) One of the primary reasons it got built was that two years ago I spoke to Fred Green, the Superintendent of Public Works in Albany and I said, "Fred, you have been promising me that highway for ten years." I said, "Fred, I bet you a hat you won't get it started in two years," and he came under the wire by ten days and I bought him a hat and I am glad to buy it. (Applause)

As a matter of fact, on the building of that highway you may be interested to know this little fact: It goes away back to a conference I had with the Highway Department long before I became Governor, somewhere around 1925 or 1926. At that time the traffic on the Post Road was getting very, very heavy, and the accidents were increasing. As I remember it, it was before it was widened out to the present width, but it was a good road. In this conference it was laid down, as a matter of State policy, that eventually, because of the increase of automobiles, the State would try to have two parallel State highways all the way from Westchester to Albany in order that the traffic on the road next to the river could be relieved and part of it diverted to the other road.

Away back then, ten or twelve years ago, it was determined on the State map that the parallel road on this part of the river would

be this road right out here at the end of the lawn. In other words, that the road from Poughkeepsie north would follow up along Violet Avenue, the Creek Road, to Rhinebeck and there they would take, as the second road, what they called the River Road west of the Post Road up past Amendale and Riverdale into Hudson. In other words, this is nothing new in spite of what people have called the political aspect in getting a highway into the town of Hyde Park. We are, all of us, mighty glad to have it and I am glad I lost my bet and so are you. (Applause)

I would like to keep on talking about many things all afternoon. I never know quite what to talk about or when to quit.

I hope -- I cannot tell definitely -- but I hope between now and November I will be able to spend a good deal more time here at Hyde Park. (Applause) And I hope that things are going to quiet down internationally so that I will only have to work four or five hours a day instead of ten or twelve. And, in spite of all he said about the job, I would willingly swap with George Spratt and then maybe I would look as healthy as he does. (Laughter)

It has been perfectly fine to see you. I wish we could transfer some of these parties to the White House lawn. We did have one awfully nice party last year and I was awfully glad to see those of you who came down and I hope that you also will return this call during the coming year.

It has been fine to see you. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Antietam Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Maryland
Friday, September 17, 1937, 12.00 M.

MEN AND WOMEN OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH:

The passage of time has a strange effect on all great crises, especially on those which have occurred in comparatively recent (years) times. History, in the strict interpretation, covers the events of yesterday and of the past week. But, actually in the minds of almost everyone, we do not class as history those things which have come to pass within our own memory or that of our parents.

Young people, as I well know in my own family, who are in their early twenties, (today) have little or no personal recollection of the recent World War of only two decades ago, but (it) that war entered into their childhood memories. On the other hand, they think of the War with Spain, which most of us remember, as ancient history.

In my own case, though I came into the world some seventeen years after the close of the war between the states, the results of that war and of the difficult years that followed it do not make me think of it as history.

And today, seventy-five years after the critical battle of Antietam, there are still (many) among us many who can remember it. It is, therefore, an American battle which thousands of Americans, middle-aged and old, can still visualize as bearing some relationship to their own lives.

We know that Antietam was one of the decisive engagements of the Civil War because it marked the first effort of the Confed-

eracy to invade the North -- tactically a drawn battle, but actually a factor of vital importance to the final result because it spelled the failure of the attempt.

Whether we be (old or) young or old, it serves us little good purpose to discuss again the rights and the wrongs of the long four years war between the states. We can but wish that the war had never been. We can and we do revere the memory of the brave men who fought on both sides -- we can and we do honor those who fell on this and other fields.

But we know today that it was best, for the generation of Americans who fought the war and for the generations of Americans who have come after them, that the (conflict) war between the states did not end in a division of our land into two nations. I like to think that it was the will of God that we remain one people.

Today, old and young alike are saddened by the knowledge of the bitter years that followed the war -- years bitter to the South because of economic destruction and the denial to its population of the normal rights of free Americans -- years bitter to the North because victory engendered in the North among many the baser passions of revenge and tyranny.

We must not deny that the effects of the so-called "era of reconstruction" made themselves felt in many evil ways for half a century. They encouraged sectionalism, they led to misunderstanding and they greatly retarded the unity of the (Nation) people of the United States.

It is too soon to define the history of the present generation; but I venture the belief that it was not until the World War

of twenty years ago that we acted once more as a nation of restored unity. And I believe also that the past four years mark the occasion, the first occasion, certainly since the war between the states, and perhaps during the whole 150 years of our Government, that we are not only acting but also thinking in national terms.

Deeply we appreciate that the distress or difficulty of any one part of the Union adversely affects each and every other part. We stand ready in all parts of the land to lend a helping hand to those Americans who need it most.

In the presence of the spirits of those who fell on this field -- Union soldiers and Confederate soldiers -- we can believe that they rejoice with us in the unity of understanding which is so increasingly ours today. They urge us on in all we do to foster that spirit of unity, foster it in the spirit of tolerance, of willingness to help our neighbor, and of faith in the destiny of the United States of America.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Clinton, Iowa
September 23, 1937, 2.15 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Representative William S. Jacobsen.)

My friends, I am glad to come back into Iowa and I have been made happy all day coming through Illinois, seeing that the corn is a lot better than it was last year.

This is another trip of inspection. I have taken one every year for the last four years and I have felt that it was right for me once more to go through the country and see how things are getting on and I should say, from what I have seen, that they are getting on pretty well.

It is good to see you.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
MARSHALLTOWN, IOWA
September 23, 1937

I am glad to come back to Iowa after an absence of nearly a year. As you know, this is not a campaign trip but it is merely doing what I think every President ought to do and that is, once a year, to try to see something of the country at first hand.

I believe that on this trip so far things are a good deal better than they were in 1936.

At this particular moment I have to be very careful of what I say because, up on the front platform of this car, they are making a record on a disc. And, also, the newspapermen in the club car, who are connected with this back platform by this instrument, (indicating microphone) are taking everything down, trying to get a real story that will appear in the headlines. So I have got to disappoint them once more.

As a matter of fact, I know a lot of you good people here are interested in one of the objectives of government -- the stability of crop prices. It is one of the big things that we have let slide this year, and we know what happens to the country when corn and cotton and wheat and other major crops fluctuate up and down the scale and people haven't got any idea, when they plant their crops, what they are going to get for them when they reap them.

That is something, I believe, that modern civilization must solve and can solve -- and I am not speaking in a party spirit, as you know. I think the time has come when the government can devise ways and means which will stabilize prices that farmers get for what they grow. And I believe, too, that that can be done without bankrupting the government.

On this trip I am talking to many people about methods to be used in obtaining those ends. You know, a lot of people mix up objectives with methods and, sometimes, when they don't like the objectives, they say, "Oh, yes, we do like the objectives, but we don't like the methods proposed by this particular fellow." Well, I am not in love with any particular methods but I am in love with the particular objectives which the people are after and I am after.

That is why tomorrow, when I will be in the beet sugar area and cattle area, I will be trying to get at first hand what the people are thinking about; and trying to get at first hand the methods to be used in gaining the objectives, because I am certain that we are together as to what those objectives are.

I said I was not going to make a speech but I seem to have made one.

I suppose that in the last twenty-five years I have seen a good deal more of the United States than almost anybody in public life except Jim Farley. I am keen to see more of it and I propose to keep on traveling.

Many thanks.

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INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Boone, Iowa
September 23, 1937, 7.05 P.M.

(The President spoke from the rear platform of his train.
There were about four thousand people in the audience.)

I am sorry that there is no loud speaker on the train because this is not a campaign trip.

I have had a wonderful day crossing Iowa and I want to thank you for the wonderful greeting that you have given to me. I have had a chance to talk with your Governor, with a number of Congressmen and with Ed Birmingham, who is here with me, and with the Mayor of Boone.

As you know, I am trying again, as I do every year, to find out about conditions at first hand. I think it is the right thing for a President to do when he is in office. (Applause)

I am very glad to have seen you and very glad to have this chance to get around and see the actual conditions in the United States. (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Carroll, Iowa
September 23, 1937, 8.20 P.M.

(The President spoke from the rear platform of his train.
There were about five thousand people in the audience.)

I am sorry that we haven't got a loud speaker on board but
this is not a campaign trip.

I have had a wonderful reception all day crossing Iowa. I
am glad to get back here and I am glad to see that the corn still grows.
(Applause) I have to admit that your corn is a little bit taller than
my corn in Dutchess County, New York, (applause) but not much.
(Laughter)

(The President was handed the microphone and asked to speak
over a local broadcasting station.)

I have just been telling this grand crowd that I am glad to
get back in Iowa and grateful for the fine reception I have had all
day. I had a chance to talk to your Governor; he left to go back to
Clinton but I have the Governor of Nebraska on board (Governor Cochran)
and that is something. (Applause)

For Immediate Release

September 24, 1937.

M. H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President.

Informal, extemporaneous remarks of
the President,

Cheyenne, Wyoming
September 24, 1937
10:00 A. M.

Some people wonder why I am here. Last January a good friend of mine came to me and said, "why, during the next four years, don't you take it easy? Why don't you coast? You climbed up a long, steep grade over the past four years and now, during the next four years you might as well have a good time."

I said to him that I was going to continue during these four years the practice of the last four years and that, incidentally, in so doing I would have a good time.

I don't want to coast and the Nation doesn't want me to coast with my feet up on the front wheels.

I have thought that it was part of the duty of the Presidency to keep in touch, personal touch, with the Nation. And so, this year, since January, I have already made one trip through a number of the Southern states on my way back from catching some fish and now I am going out to the Coast for the third time since I have been President - not counting campaign trips - going out to take a "look-see" - to try to tie together in my own mind the problems of the Nation in order that I may, at first hand, know as much about the questions that affect all the forty-eight states as possible.

As you know, the greater part of the emergency is over - not all of it because there are still a great many difficult problems and I want to talk to you, very briefly, about some of the things that the national government has done and is doing.

For example, during the past three or four years we have spent in every part of the country a great deal of Federal money in putting people to work. That was the primary objective, but at the same time we have tried our utmost to accomplish useful things and there is not a State - there are very few communities in the whole nation that have not benefitted by these Federal expenditures, not in a temporary way but in a permanent way.

I was thinking this morning of the question of airports and I don't know whether it is thoroughly realized by you here on one of the stations on one of the main transcontinental air lines that the Federal Government has assisted in the building, not of several dozen new airports in the country, not of several hundred, but of many thousands, with the result today that the United States is checker-boarded with airports in every state. That is an accomplishment of the past three or four years.

In the same way, not dozens or hundreds but thousands of schools have been built or renovated with a combination of State, local and Federal funds.

We have to come, someday, to an end of the greater part of that program and just the other day, in Washington, we allocated the last of the Federal money for Public Works projects. This consisted of more schools, more sewer systems, more waterworks and things of that kind where there was a very clear need for replacement or where the states or the localities had already voted the funds.

I will tell you one amusing story of the allocation for school projects. Congress told me to confine them to those schools where the schools had been burned down or where a new school had to be built to replace a building that was about to tumble down. There came a project from one of the Southern states for the building of a new school building and a new library. The school building was to replace one that was about to fall down and we granted that project. But, in the case of the library they apparently did not have a library and it was therefore not a replacement project. With great regret we rejected the application.

The head of the school came to Washington to see me. I told him how sorry I was that we could not spend Federal funds for new buildings no matter how much they were needed, unless they were to replace one that had burned or tumbled down. And he said, "But, Mr. President, our library did burn down." I said, "That's funny, because there is nothing said about that in the application. When was it burned down?"

And he replied, "Mr. President, our library was burned in 1864 by General Sherman."

On this trip I am looking at many types of projects. I am always eager, when I come west, to get more people out of the East to come West and see things with their own eyes.

The other day I read in a big newspaper of the Middlewest an editorial which took as its text the fact that one of the WPA dams in Kansas had in part been washed out. It meant undoubtedly the loss of a good deal of money. And the editorial pointed out that this was the way the Federal Government was wasting its funds.

Well, I believe that engineers are human just like I am and that they do not make a home-run every time they come to the bat.

But the editorial went on, taking that dam as a text, and pointed out from their point of view, which I do not believe is the point of view of the nation, that in the construction of great dams by the Federal Government we are creating millions of kilowatts of power which will never be used by the people.

I think that you and I and most people realize that when you do create power the public finds some useful way to use it.

In the same way they went on to say that all of these reclamation projects mean a pure waste of money, that to build a project like Casper-Alcova, or Grand Coulee we would make available unnecessary farm lands, and that there are enough good farms in the United States to take care of all the people who need them for fifty years to come.

You and I know that that is not so. You, here on this great central highway know of the number of people - families - who have had to leave their homes on their farms in the drought area, some of them from the eastern part of this state, from the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, people who could not make a go of it on the poor land - families forced to leave their homes to avoid starvation. Those people have come further west, looking for a chance to earn their livelihood, looking for good land and not being able to find it.

So, in the same way, there are thousands of families in the East who are unable to make good on the land they are tilling now for very obvious reasons. It is land that ought not to be under the plow. So, for all those families, I believe that it is the duty of the Federal Government and the State Governments to provide them with land where it is possible to do it, where they can make a living.

I could go on talking about WPA and FWA and Soil Erosion and the CCC camps. As a matter of fact they have all served a useful purpose. It is a better country for having spent, for a few years, more than we were taking in in taxes, but don't let anybody deceive you - the Government of the United States is not going broke.

So here I am, trying in this short trip - for it must be short -- to get a cross-section point of view, the point of view especially of the rank and file of the American people in this western country. Yes, it is part of the duty of the Presidency to represent, insofar as possible, all the people, not just Democrats, but Republicans and others as well, not just rich people, but poor people as well. And I have been trying, very simply, to do the most good for the greatest number.

Out here in the cattle country and the sugar beet country, of course, I am interested in the prosperity of the raisers of cattle and the growers of beets.

Perhaps somewhere down in my heart, I am a little bit more interested in the ten men who have a hundred head of cattle apiece, than I am in the one man who has a thousand head of cattle. And perhaps I am a little more interested in the ten men who have a hundred acres of beets than I am in the one man who has a thousand acres of beets.

It seems to me that is one of the orders -- one of the necessary things that goes with the Presidency.

In these next few years -- four years, eight years, twelve years, twenty years -- I am very firmly convinced that the people of the Nation will have, more and more, a national point of view.

You people out here realize far better than you did four years ago that your prosperity is tied up very intimately with the prosperity of the cotton growers of the South and with that of the industrial workers of the East. And, in the same way, those people in the great factories of the East and Middle West, and on the cotton farms of the South, in the corn belt and in the wheat belt, know that their prosperity is affected by your prosperity out here.

That, I believe, will be written in history as the great accomplishment of these years that we are living in now, the welding together of the people of the United States.

So, my friends, I am glad to have been able to come out here on this annual trip, and I hope and expect to come out again during the next three years.

* * * * *

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Wheatland, Wyoming
September 24, 1937, 12.45 P.M.

(The President spoke from the rear platform of his train.)

Well, this was not a scheduled stop but the Governor told me I ought to stop here for a couple of minutes just to say "How do you do?" to you all, and I am glad to do it.

I have been quite thrilled by seeing this very lovely valley. I have never been here before. It is good farming land and I am glad that this Government has been helping with this new Wheatland reservoir.

Up in the club car ahead there are a couple of dozen newspaper men. You know all about the Wheatland reservoir but they don't. And so this trip is not only to educate me but it is to educate the Press. They are listening to what I say; they do not have to leave the car, they can hear through this little instrument (indicating microphone) everything I am saying to you and so, for their benefit, I am going to tell them that this reservoir has cost \$400,000., of which the Federal Government is putting up \$325,000. and the Irrigation District \$75,000. and that the reservoir is going to provide supplementary storage water for 50,000 acres of farm land. In other words, 4,000 families are going to be benefited by the work which is being done jointly by the Irrigation District and the Federal Government. It seems to me that that is a pretty good illustration of what we have been trying to do in the last four years -- trying to improve the condition of the average citizen.

And so I am glad to come here. I wish I could see the reservoir myself with my own eyes. I am glad to see this fine, prosperous valley and be able to say "How do you do?" to you good people.

INFORMAL, IMPROMPTU REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Casper, Wyoming
September 24, 1937, 5.40 P.M.

(The President spoke from the rear platform of his train.)

My hands are cold but my heart is warm.

I am very glad to come to Casper because I have heard about it many times from Senator Schwartz, and I have heard about it even before that because, the very first year (that) I was in Washington -- I am not sure it was not the first week I was in Washington -- I had a visit from Senator Kendrick and Mr. Wilkinson to tell me all about the Casper-Alcova project. That was the beginning of it and you know what has been done since.

I am (very) glad that this great project is being constructed. People all over the country ought to know about it, the fact that (that) the diversion dam is going to irrigate from thirty-three to forty thousand acres of land, the fact that the power plant is going to furnish electric power at reasonable rates -- I hope you have them now, but I don't know, -- at reasonable rates not only to many communities in this State but even across the Nebraska line.

That is just one illustration of what the Government has been doing these last four years. In this delightful drive that I have just taken I have seen other evidences of what the Government is doing in the way of useful work -- your high school stadium, Old Fort Casper, that I had read so much about in my younger days.

One hates to talk figures to the people of any State, but the fact remains, and it is worth noting, and the other states have shared in proportion, that in the past four years the State of Wyoming

has had spent in it sixty million dollars of Federal funds. It is not going to be spent nearly as fast as that in the next four years because there isn't anything like the unemployment today that existed when I first came into office. As a matter of fact, (just) in the past year the number of people on relief in this State has decreased from eleven thousand to under six thousand -- all of that, of course, is helping me to balance the budget and we are doing it.

But the country is beginning to understand all of these problems in national terms. I am glad that people are traveling more and more. As a matter of fact, there were so many people in Yellowstone Park this summer that I had to wait to go there until it was closed.

Yes, the country is thinking nationally. There is no question about that.

I said the other day, about a week ago, that in my judgment the past four years marked the first occasion, certainly since the Civil War, and probably during the whole of the one hundred and fifty years of our Government that we are not only acting but thinking in national terms. That is a statement with which only those who are intellectually dishonest or blindly partisan will seriously disagree.

And it is worth repeating, also, in every part of the Nation that democratic processes of government can meet the problems of an emergency if the leadership in public life recognizes and has the courage to tackle the problems of the day. Unless those problems are met, uncertainty and fear on the part of the people are likely to result -- as they resulted in 1932 and early 1933 -- uncertainty and fear which, if allowed to continue, would lead ultimately (with a result

leading ultimately) to a dictatorial form of government and the destruction of our personal liberties.

Yes, I am (pretty) well convinced that the rank and file of the people of this country approve the objectives of their Government. They approve and support those who work for objectives by proposing methods to obtain the objectives, even though those methods be changed by consultation and conference. But they do not become very enthusiastic about those who give only lip service to the objectives and do nothing towards attaining them.

Like a man I knew once in Upstate New York in a prosperous community, (who was) -- a leading citizen. He gave away a lot of money and made speeches about improving the lot of the working man and working woman. He was an advocate of civic righteousness, but, all the time, he was one of the heaviest contributors to a reactionary State association. Whenever that association needed money to fight and block a bill in the Legislature which would have stopped Child Labor or compelled the shortening of over-long hours of work in the factories of the State he contributed. He gave lip service in public but fought civic betterment in private.

I am glad to say that in this country that type of person has less influence in government today than ever before in our history. We can get along in local and state and the Federal Government without the services of those who are good citizens only so long as it does not cost their pocketbooks anything to be good citizens.

Taking it by and large, the conduct of public affairs in this country has, I think, shown consistent improvement during our generation. Government servants are more concerned with the public good and

more unselfish in the work they do than ever before. That is due in large part to the fact that the public as a whole -- the rank and file of American citizenship, men and women, are taking more interest in their Government than ever before.

Constitutional democracy in this country is succeeding despite the obstacles thrown in its way by a few people who, in their hearts, do not want to see democracy work. You and I, my friends, are making it work and we are going to keep on making it work.

I am glad to see this fine part of the Nation. I am glad to see the progress that is being made here, the interest that is being taken here. I hope during the next three years to be able to come back and say "Howdy" to you once more.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Thermopolis, Wyoming
September 24, 1937, 9.20 P.M.

(The President spoke from the rear platform of the Presidential special train.)

Well, I only have had one disappointment today and that is in coming here after dark.

I have had a wonderful day coming all the way up from Cheyenne and I have just finished a mighty good supper with the Senator and the Congressman.

I am especially sorry not to see these wonderful springs because, ever since a great many years ago when I started trying to help the crippled children down in Georgia Warm Springs, I have been interested in their curative qualities and I hope very much that in the future, just as quickly as possible, these wonderful springs given to us by nature will be utilized in such manner that they will be of lasting benefit to humanity. (Applause) There is no reason I know of why that should not come about here and you have my very hearty blessing in anything you can do to bring it about.

Some day I hope to come back here during daylight hours and see this grand spot and, incidentally, to go down the Big Horn Valley by daylight. I wish I could have done it this time but, as you probably know, I am trying to cover a lot of territory in a very short time. And so I hope to see you again.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
West Yellowstone, Montana
September 26, 1937, 6.45 P.M.

We have had two wonderful days, Mrs. Roosevelt and I and Anna and John and the two children, and we want to come back, now that we know the way.

And I also have had a very good chance to talk with Superintendent Rogers about the future of the Park. Apparently our chief problem is not animals or trees or fish, but human beings.

I was very much interested today in seeing the figures which the Superintendent showed me. In 1929, which some of us think of as a boom year, there were 260,000 people who went through the Park. This year, which nobody claims is a boom year, there were 500,000.

So our chief problem in the future will be taking care of people, because people are going to come whether we like it or not and it is up to us to look after them. All of you good people who live near the Park are doing splendid work in your hospitality and the spirit of welcome that you are showing to people who come here from all over the United States. I hear about the wonderful times they have had from people who have come out to Yellowstone from where I live, up on the Hudson River in New York. They never fail to talk about their visit to Yellowstone.

That is why I say that we hope we will be able to come back again very soon. And now I am as hungry as one of those bears and I am going in to eat.

Get 4 cc of this

September 27, 1937.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

M. H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE
PRESIDENT AT BOISE, IDAHO, SEPTEMBER 27, 1937.

Governor Clark; and I am going to say what Senator Borah said,
"Friends and neighbors":

I shall never forget this morning. When I look back on today's
visit to Boise, I shall think chiefly of two things, first your
beautiful, tree-lined streets and, secondly, your children.

And I take it, being a Roosevelt, that you are following the
Rooseveltian creed, and that the population is not going to die out.

You know, there is something about children and trees that makes
me think of permanency - the future. It is not by any means the
sole task of the Presidency - to think about the present. One of
the chief obligations of the Presidency is to think about the future.
We have been, in our one hundred and fifty years of constitutional
existence, a wasteful nation, a nation that has wasted its natural
resources and, very often, wasted its human resources.

One reason why a President of the United States ought to travel
throughout the country and become familiar with every State is that
he has a great obligation to think about the days when he is no
longer President, to think about the next generation and the genera-
tion after that.

That is one reason why I am particularly glad on this trip to
see a part of Idaho which I have never seen before. I had travelled
through the eastern part of the State and the northern part of the
State and now I am seeing something new, something that makes me very
proud of this part of the country.

And in these travels I am not just thinking of the - what shall
I call them? - the more or less petty problems of the day, the
quarrels, the disputes of the moment. I am trying to think about
the bigger objectives of American life, to think about planning.
Planning is not much of a word, but there isn't any better one.

I am trying to think about how we are going to make a better
America for those children that I passed this morning. I am trying
to think about the conservation of our water resources, to think
about the better distribution of and a greater prosperity for agri-
culture, to think about the saving of our timber, to think about a
better coordination of our industrial activities, of a better dis-
tribution of control over these industrial activities - that sounds
like Senator Borah - and to think incidentally, of the influence
that the United States can have on the rest of the world in behalf
of peace - and that sounds like Senator Pope and Senator Borah too.

I wish I could physically take the time to spend more days and
more weeks going around the country. There was an old mythological
character by the name of Antaeus, who was supposed, every time his
foot touched the ground, to redouble his strength. When I go about
the country after long weeks and months tied up in Washington, which,
incidentally, is one of the narrowest places in the world, I feel
that I regain strength by just meeting the American people.

So my friends, I am grateful to you for giving me this wonderful reception today in the Capital of this State. I am grateful to you for coming and saying "Howdy" to me, just like the plain folks we, all of us, are.

Some day, having made your acquaintance once, I want to come back and renew it. I have had a wonderful morning.

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INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
(from the rear platform of his special train)
Ontario, Oregon
September 27, 1937, 4.30 P.M.

I just came out to tell you "Good night," to tell you what a perfectly wonderful day I have had.

You know, I have never been in this valley before and I was thrilled by it.

I am very glad to know that you people are cooperating on a national problem, that is, that a lot of people from the Dust Bowl area are coming into this valley and are making good. Now, that is not only a big help to Idaho and Oregon but it is a good thing for a great many states of the Union which were affected very seriously by the drought. And if you can continue to take care of the people who come here from those states the way you have been doing it, all I can say is "God bless you for doing it."
(Applause)

I think all of the party are thrilled by what they have seen. I do not think any of them knew of the wonderful progress that has been made in farming through this section by the use of water and I am very glad that the Federal Government in Washington appreciates now the value of water and is going to keep on in the development of this great part of the United States.

It has been fine to see you all. I have to go in now to prepare a couple of so-called speeches that have to be made tomorrow.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
(from the rear platform of his special train)
Baker, Oregon
September 27, 1937, 9.50 P.M., P.T.

(There were about 7,000 people in the audience.)

My friends, I am sorry we have not got a loud-speaker aboard the train, so I do not know that you can all hear me.

I came out to tell you, first of all, to tell you how sorry I am that I could not come through here by daylight. You know, it is a pretty difficult thing to come across the continent and not pass through a lot of the country that one wants to see by daylight.

We have had a wonderful day today coming down from Boise through that wonderful irrigation district, and I wish very much that I could see this part of Oregon as well. Tomorrow we are going down, as you know, to Bonneville and up to Mount Hood and then on to Portland. I hope some day I will be able to come back here and meet you all when I can see your faces in the sunshine. (Applause)

I have been telling people that I thought it was one of the not only duties but one of the privileges of the President of the United States to get around and see the Nation because, more and more, we are thinking in national terms and we are beginning to realize more and more that any part of the country that falls behind drags down every other part of the country and, in the same way, any part of the country that prospers and makes good, that adds so much to the good of the rest of the country.

I have been very happy in going around on this trip to find the number of people who are traveling. I wish that more and

more easterners can come out here and see this western country.
(Applause) In the same way, I hope a lot of you people out here
will come and visit us in the East. (Laughter)

I know another thing and that is that in the last four
years we have, all of us, in every part of the country, been taking
more and more of an interest in our Government. That is a grand
thing. We understand a great deal more about the problems of the
Nation as a whole. I am very much encouraged by that result of the
last four years, that we are thinking in national terms and under-
standing what it is all about.

I believe also that as we make our democracy function, as
we make it work to meet all of these new problems, that we are more
and more setting an example to all the rest of the world, that we
are setting up an example that aims for peace and not war. (Applause)
And I guess we are all for that. (Applause)

And so, my friends, I am glad to have had this chance just
to say a few words to you. I hope that some day I can come back and
meet you all again and have a little bit more time. Many thanks.

I am particularly glad to be here with my very old friend,
Governor Pierce. (Applause)

(The President asked Governor Pierce to say a few words.)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Bonneville Dam, Oregon
September 28, 1937, 9.30 A.M., P.T.

GOVERNOR MARTIN, MY FRIENDS OF THE NORTHWEST:

Today I have a feeling of real satisfaction in witnessing the completion of another great national project, and of pleasure in the fact that in its inception, four years ago, I had some part. My interest in the whole of the valley of the great Columbia River goes back seventeen years to 1920 when I first studied its mighty possibilities. And again, in 1932, I visited Oregon and Washington and Idaho and on that visit I took occasion in Portland to express certain views which have since, through the action of the Congress, become a recorded part of American national policy.

Almost exactly three years ago, I inspected the early construction stages of this dam at Bonneville.

The more we study the water resources of the Nation, the more we accept the fact that their use is a matter of national concern, and that in our plans for their use our line of thinking must include great regions as well as narrower localities.

If, for example, we Americans had known as much and acted as effectively twenty (and) or thirty (and) or forty years ago as we do today in the development of the use of land in that great semi-arid strip in the center of the country (which) that runs from the Canadian border all the way down to Texas, we could have prevented in great part the abandonment of thousands and thousands of farms in portions of ten states and thus prevented the migration of thousands of destitute families from those areas into the States of

Washington and Oregon and California. We would have done this by avoiding the plowing up of (vast) great areas (which) that should have been kept in grazing range and by stricter regulations to prevent over-grazing. At the same time we would have checked soil erosion, stopped the denudation to our forests and controlled disastrous fires.

Some of my friends who talk glibly (or) about the right of any individual to do anything he wants with any of his property take the point of view that it is not the concern of Federal or state or local government to interfere with what they miscall "the liberty of the individual." With them I do not agree and never have agreed (applause) because, unlike them, I am thinking of the future of the United States. (Applause) Yes, my conception of liberty does not permit an individual citizen or a group of citizens to commit acts of depredation against nature in such a way as to harm their neighbors, and especially to harm the future generations of Americans.

If many years ago we had had the necessary knowledge and especially the necessary willingness on the part of the Federal Government to act on it, we would have saved a sum, a sum of money which, in the last few years, has cost the taxpayers of the Nation at least two billion dollars.

Coming back to the watershed of the Columbia River, which covers the greater part of the States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and a part of Montana, it is increasingly important that we think of that region as a unit -- and especially in terms of the whole population of that area as it is today and as we expect it will be fifty and even a hundred years from now.

I appreciate and I fully understand (fully) the desire of some who live close to some of the great sources of power in this watershed to seek the advantages which come from geographical proximity.

More than eight years ago, when I became Governor of the State of New York, we developed plans for the harnessing of the St. Lawrence River and the production of a vast amount of cheap power. The good people who lived within a few miles of the proposed dam were enthused by the prospect of building up a huge manufacturing center close to the source of the power -- (another) a sort of new Pittsburgh -- a vast city, (of) large population, whirling machinery. It was a natural dream, but wiser counsels prevailed and the government of the State laid down a policy based on the distribution of the proposed power to as wide an area as the science of (the) transmission would permit.

We felt that the Governor and the Legislature of the State owed it to the people in the smaller communities for hundreds of miles around to give them the benefit of cheap electricity in their homes, (and their farms and) in their shops and on their farms. And while the St. Lawrence project, I am sorry to say, is still on paper, I have no doubt of its ultimate development, and of the application of the policy of the widest possible use when the electric current starts to flow.

And so, my friends, that is why in developing electricity from this Bonneville Dam, from the Grand Coulee Dam and from other dams to be built in the future on the Columbia and its tributaries -- yes, they are going to be built (applause) this policy of the widest

use ought to prevail. The transmission of electricity is making such scientific strides today that we can well visualize a date, not far distant, when every community in this (great) vast area will be wholly electrified. (Applause)

It is because I am thinking of the Nation and the region fifty years from now that I venture the further prophesy that as time passes we will do everything in our power to encourage the building up of the smaller communities of the United States. Today many people are beginning to realize that there is inherent weakness in big cities, (which become too large and) cities too large for the times and that there is inherent strength in a wider geographical distribution of population.

An over-large city inevitably meets problems caused by oversize. Real estate values and rents become too high; the time consumed in going from one's (home) house to one's work and back again becomes excessive; congestion of streets and other transportation problems arise; truck (gardens) gardening in the back yard becomes impossible because the back yard becomes too small, indeed (disappear because the back yard is too small); the cost of living of the average family rises far too high.

There is doubtless a reasonable balance in all of this and it is a balance which ought to be given more and more study. No one would suggest (for example) that the great cities of Portland and Tacoma and Seattle and Spokane should stop their growth, but it is a fact that they could grow unhealthily at the expense of all the smaller communities of which they form logical centers. Their healthiest growth actually depends on a simultaneous healthy growth of every

smaller community within a radius of hundreds of miles.

Your situation here in the Northwest is in this respect no different from the situation in the other great regions of the Nation. That is why it has been proposed in the Congress that regional planning boards be set up for the purpose of coordinating the planning, the planning for the future in seven or eight natural geographical regions.

You will have read here as elsewhere many misleading and utterly untrue statements in some papers and by some politicians that this proposed legislation would set up all powerful authorities (which) that would destroy state lines, take away local government and make what people call -- I do not understand the phrases very well, but they sound big -- what people call (a) totalitarian or authoritarian or some other kind of a dangerous national centralized control. (laughter, applause) Most people realize, of course, that the exact opposite is the truth -- that regional commissions will be far more closely in touch with the needs of all the localities and all the people in their respective regions than a system of plans which originate(s) in the Capital of the Nation. By decentralizing as I have proposed, the Chief Executive, and the various branches of the Government (government departments), and the Congress itself will be able to get from each region a carefully worked out plan each year -- a plan based on future needs, a plan which will seek primarily to help all the people of the region without unduly favoring any one locality or discriminating against any other.

In other words, the responsibility of the Federal Government for the welfare of its citizens will not come from the top in

the form of unplanned, hit or miss appropriations of money, but will progress to the National Capital from the ground up -- from the communities and counties and the states which lie within each of the logical geographical areas.

And, my friends, another great advantage, because we do have to think of our pocketbooks, another great advantage will be served by this process of planning from the bottom up. Under our laws the President has to submit(s) to the Congress an Annual Budget -- a budget which, by the way, we expect to have definitely balanced by the next fiscal year, next July first. (Applause) In this budget we know how much can properly be expended for the development of our natural resources, the protection of our soil, the construction of our highways and buildings, the maintenance of our harbors and channels and all the other elements (which) that fall under the general heading of public works. By regional planning it will be vastly easier for the Executive branch of the Government and the Congress to determine how the appropriations for the following year shall be fitted most fairly and equitably into the total amount (which) that our national pocketbook allows us safely to spend.

To you who live thousands of miles away in other parts of the United States, who are hearing my voice at this time, I want to give two or three simple facts. This Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River, forty-two miles east of Portland, with Oregon on the south side of the river and Washington on the north, is one of the major power and navigation projects undertaken since 1933. It is 170 feet high and it is 1,250 feet long. It has been built by the Corps of Engineers of the War Department, and when fully completed, with (all)

its) a part of its power installations completed, will cost \$51,000,000. Its locks will enable shipping to use this great waterway much further inland than at present, and give an outlet to the enormously valuable agricultural and mineral products of (Oregon and) Washington and Oregon and Idaho. Its generators ultimately will produce 580,000 horse power of electricity.

Truly, in the construction of this dam we have had our eyes on the future of the Nation. Its cost will be returned to the people of the United States many, many times over in the improvement of navigation and transportation, the cheapening of electric power, and the distribution of this power to hundreds of small communities within a great radius.

As I look (up) on Bonneville Dam today, I cannot help the thought that instead of spending, as some nations do, half their national income in piling up armaments and more armaments for purposes of war, we in America are wiser in using our wealth on projects like this (applause) which will give us more wealth, better living and greater happiness for our children. (Applause, prolonged)

And now, my friends, there are just two more things to do:
First of all, in my official capacity and my personal capacity, for I know many of them, I want to extend the thanks of the Nation to the men and the women who have made this dam. (Applause) And, secondly,
I am going to go through what in some countries would be a very formal procedure. I am going to press a button without any more words and that will start everything going. Here it is. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Timberline Lodge, Oregon
September 28, 1937, 1.30 P.M., P.T.

GOVERNOR MARTIN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Here I am on the slopes of Mount Hood where I have always wanted to come.

I am here to dedicate the Timberline Lodge and I do so in the words of the bronze tablet directly in front of me on the coping of this wonderful building:

"Timberline Lodge, Mount Hood National Forest, dedicated September 28, 1937, by the President of the United States as a monument to the skill and faithful performance of workers on the rolls of the Works Progress Administration."

(Applause)

In the past few days I have inspected many great governmental activities - parks and soil protection sponsored by the W.P.A. (Works Progress Administration); buildings erected with the assistance of the Public Works Administration; our oldest and best-known National Park, the Yellowstone, under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service; great irrigation areas fathered by the Reclamation Service; and a few hours ago a huge navigation and power dam built by the Army engineers.

And now I find myself in one of our many national forests, here on the slopes of Mount Hood.

The people of the United States are singularly fortunate in having such great areas of the outdoors in the permanent possession

of the people themselves - permanently available for many different forms of use.

In the total of (this) the acreage of the national forests all of those many acres in many, many states of the Union already play an important part in our economy and as (the) years go by their usefulness is bound to expand.

(We think of them) A good many of us probably think of our forests, perhaps, as having the primary function of saving our timber resources, but they do far more than that; much of the timber in them is cut and sold under scientific methods, and replaced on the system of rotation by new stands of many types of useful trees. (Our) The National Forests, in addition, provide forage for livestock and game, they husband our water at (its) the source; they mitigate our floods and prevent the erosion of our soil. Last but not least, our National Forests will provide constantly increasing opportunity for recreational use. This Timberline Lodge marks a venture that was made possible by W.P.A. Emergency Relief work, in order that we may test the workability of recreational facilities installed by the Government itself and operated under its (complete) control.

Here, to Mount Hood, will come thousands and thousands of visitors in the coming years. Looking east toward eastern Oregon with its great livestock raising areas, (they will) these visitors are going to visualize the relationship between the cattle ranches and the summer ranges in (our) the forests. Looking westward and northward toward Portland and the Columbia River, with their great lumber and other wood using industries, (they) visitors will under-

stand the part which National Forest timber will play in the support of this important element of northwestern prosperity.

Those who (will) follow us to Timberline Lodge on their holidays and vacations will represent the enjoyment of new opportunities for play in every season of the year. (Applause) And I mention specially every season of the year because we, as a nation, I think, are coming to realize that the summer is not the only time for play. And I look forward to the day when many, many people from this region of the Nation are going to come here for skiing and tobogganing and various other forms of winter sports. Among them, all of those visitors, in winter and summer, spring and autumn, there will be many from the uttermost parts of our Nation, (travelers) from the Middle West, the South and the East, (and the South -- Americans who are fulfilling a very desirable objective of citizenship -- getting to know their country better) travelers from every one of the forty-eight states; travelers, in addition, from the Territories of Hawaii and Alaska and from Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

I am very keen about travel, not only personally -- you know that, but also travel for as many Americans as can possibly afford it because those Americans will be fulfilling a very desirable objective of our citizenship, that of getting to know their own country better and the more they see of it, the more they will realize the privileges which God and nature have given to the American people.

And so I take very great pleasure in dedicating this new adjunct, not only of our National Forests but also as a place to play for generations of Americans to come in the days to come. (Prolonged Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Following a luncheon in the Mansion of the Lieutenant Governor
Victoria, British Columbia
September 30, 1937, 2.40 P.M.

(The reporting stenographer was not in the room where these remarks were being made. Consequently, these notes, while giving the substance, are not accurate.)

As you know, this is the first time I have been here to Vancouver or in this section of Vancouver. But I am a Canadian of fifty-three years standing, having been taken to the Island of Campbell, New Brunswick, on account of my teething, at the age of three and one-half years, and since then I have been going back very, very often, and I hope all the rest of my life to be a part-time resident of the Dominion. (Applause)

With the Lieutenant Governor's permission, and this being a family party, I will tell you a story about the last time that I was on British soil. Last December, on the way back from Buenos Aires, from the cruise, we turned up on the Island of Trinidad. That morning the Governor came aboard and later we went ashore. It was one of those interesting incidents. I asked the Governor what time the Act of Abdication was to be signed and he told me six (?) o'clock in London. That meant two o'clock Trinidad time. At the end of the luncheon the Governor proposed my health and I rose and proposed the health of the King. It was exactly two o'clock (applause) and so I do not know whether it was the last _____ or the first _____ of the _____.

So I shall always think of that particular day as one of

the most interesting in my life, especially as I had the privilege of knowing the father of the present King during the war, with whom I have always had some common interest, ranging from stamp collecting to navigation.

And so I come here, even though it is not a good day (inclement weather), with a great deal of pleasure, feeling, as I said to the Governor General, that we have at last come to the point, especially during the last three or four years, when the heads of our governments cross the borders just as if passing through one province and one state. I have had the pleasure for a great many years of knowing the Governor General and old MacKenzie King, an old Harvard friend of mine, and so I feel a particular closeness to the present Governor of Canada.

I hope I shall be able to come back and accept this delightful invitation of the Lieutenant Governor sometime when I shall have more time and go out fishing and see this wonderful coast of yours.

And now I ask you to drink to the health of the King.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Port Angeles, Washington
September 30, 1937, 5.30 P.M.

MR. MAYOR, MY FRIENDS OF PORT ANGELES:

That sign on the schoolhouse, ("Please, Mr. President, we children need your help. Give us our Olympic National Park.") is the appealingest appeal that I have seen in all my travels, and I am inclined to think that it means more to have the children want that National Park than all the rest of us put together. (Applause) And so, you boys and girls, I think that you can count on my help in getting that National Park. (Applause)

We need it, not only for us old people and for you young people, but for a whole lot of young people that are going to come along in the next hundred years in America. (Applause)

And I hope you will all pray for a good day tomorrow so that I can see the rest of the Peninsula. (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
(from the rear platform of his special train)
Tacoma, Washington
October 1, 1937, 7.45 P.M.

(After motor parade through the city. There were about 15,000 people in the audience.)

Mr. Mayor, my greetings to Tacoma.

I have had a very wonderful 250 miles of it. (Applause, laughter -- it had been raining.) It shows that the old man can still take it. (Applause)

I have been thrilled by my first trip around the Olympic Peninsula and I am more convinced than ever before that this part of our Nation is going to become one of the great playgrounds, not only of the State of Washington but all the other forty-seven states as well. (Applause) I have been very happy to be the guest of my old friend, Governor Martin, in looking over this wonderful State Capitol of yours. There again I don't think I have ever -- and I have seen most of the state capitols -- seen one in a location more perfect or buildings more beautiful.

Now that I am in Tacoma I want to tell you that I have been very happy that the Federal Government has been able to have helped this community in a good many ways in the last three or four years, and I have only one objection. For three years, to my certain knowledge, there are two men who have been literally hounding the White House, Senator Bone and Congressman Coffee. (Applause)

And I have not given them the Narrows Bridge yet. (Applause, laughter) I suppose they will keep on hounding me and I don't mind because they are both very old and very good friends of mine.

This, as you know, is just a word of greeting to you and to thank you for your greeting to me, to tell you how glad I am, after five years' absence, to be back in this splendid city and I hope that I will be here again long before another five years have gone by. (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
(from the rear platform of his special train)
Ephrata, Washington
October 2, 1937, 2.30 P.M.

I hope to come back soon when the dam is further advanced.

I am always glad to see a project in the construction stage because when it is finished very few people will realize, they won't be able to visualize all the difficult work in the actual construction.

And so I hope to come back here in another two or three years and see this dam pretty nearly completed. When that time comes I think we had better, all of us, have a reunion of rejoicing.
(Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS
OF THE PRESIDENT AT GRAND COULEE
DAM, OCTOBER 2, 1937.

Coming back to Grand Coulee after three years, I am made very happy by the wonderful progress that I have seen. And I cannot help feeling that everybody who has had anything to do with the building of this great dam is going to be made happy all the rest of their lives. Some day we will have a "Grand Coulee Association" for those people who had something to do with this construction, and membership in that Association will be like a badge of honor because we are building here something that is going to do a great amount of good for this Nation through all the years to come.

My head is full of figures and the easiest way to describe those figures is to say that this is the largest structure, so far as anybody knows, that has ever been undertaken by man in one place. Superlatives do not count for anything because it is so much bigger than anything ever tried before that there is no comparison.

We look forward not only to the great good this will do in the development of power but also in the development of thousands of homes, the bringing in of millions of acres of new land for future Americans.

I think in the State of Washington there is a splendid understanding of one of the objectives in the development of these acres that are going to be irrigated. There are thousands of families in this country in the Middle West, in the Plains area, who are not making good because they are trying to farm on poor land. I look forward to the day when this valley, this basin, is opened up, giving the first opportunity to these American families who need some good farm land in place of their present farms. They are a splendid crowd of people and it is up to us, as a Nation, to help them to live better than they are living now.

There is another phase that I was thinking about this morning. When the dam is completed and the pool is filled, we will have a lake 155 miles long running all the way to Canada. You young people especially are going to live to see the day when thousands and thousands of people are going to use this great lake both for transportation purposes and for pleasure purposes. There will be sail boats and motor boats and steamship lines running from here to the northern border of the United States and into Canada.

It is a great project -- something that appeals to the imagination of the whole country. There is just one other word that is worth saying from the national point of view: We think of this as something that is benefitting this part of the country primarily, giving employment to a great many people in this neighborhood. But we must also remember that one half of the total cost of this dam is paid to the factories east of the Mississippi River. In other words, it is putting to work in the steel centers and other great manufacturing centers of the east thousands of people in making the materials that go into the dam. So, in a very correct sense, it is a national undertaking and doing a national good.

I am always glad to see a project in the construction stage because when it is finished very few people will realize -- they won't be able to visualize -- all the difficult work in the actual construction. I hope to come back here in another two or three years and see this dam pretty nearly completed. When that time comes, I think we had better, all of us, have a reunion of rejoicing.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

M. H. McIntyre,
Secretary to the President.

Informal, Extemporaneous remarks
of the President, Spokane, Wash-
ington, October 2, 1937.

My friends, I am sold on the State of Washington. I have had a wonderful few days and I wish very much that I could spend weeks instead of days seeing more of the State because I am certain about the future of the Northwest. I am very certain of the contribution it is going to make to our Nation in the days to come, not only in the building up of population but in the building up of the right kind of population, the right kind of people, by using the resources of this great region for the benefit of mankind.

Today I have seen the largest structure that any human beings, so far as history records, have ever undertaken, the Grand Coulee Dam. I am thrilled by it, as all of you are.

I want to leave with you just one suggestion:

There are parts of this Nation that are not as favored as the Northwest. Mistakes have been made. They have cut off their timber. Their land is played out, or they plowed up prairie land which is now blowing away. I am thinking about those people as well as you people. You have got room for them here in the Northwest where they can make homes, where they can live happily and prosperously.

I am asking your cooperation in helping your fellow-Americans, who are less favored than you are, to make a new start in life. I know what your response, what your hospitality, is going to be.

Although I leave the State very soon, I am not leaving for good by any means because, as you know, part of my family lives in this State.

I am going to come back again in the next three years and take a "look-see" once more.

In the meantime, remember that you are in my thoughts, that we people in Washington - I mean Washington, D. C. - though it is a long way off, are remembering the Northwest, remembering its great possibilities, remembering, incidentally, the fine representatives in the House and in the Senate, that you have sent to us.

And so this is Au revoir, it is not good-bye. I will be back to see you soon.

* * *

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS
OF THE PRESIDENT, HAVRE, MONTANA,
OCTOBER 3, 1937.

Good morning.

I am glad to be back in Montana after an absence of one week.

I am particularly interested in seeing this part of the country because I have got to plan ahead and you have got to plan ahead and the Congress has got to plan ahead for the use of more water.

I was talking last night with Jim Murray about that problem of water and we agreed that in a drought area like eastern Montana probably the time has come -- and that applies to big sections of other states as well -- the time has come to use our WPA work, not in building any more armories or school stadiums or streets but to put it into the building of dams.

This morning I smiled all the way through breakfast because I happened to see an editorial, not in a paper here but in a Great Falls paper, that talked about "balancing the budget of our resources." That is something that is well worth thinking about. It said that because we have made money in wasting and eroding large human resources and piled up nominal wealth in securities and bank balances, we have lost sight of the fact that the natural resources of our land - our permanent capital - are being converted into those nominal evidences of wealth at a faster rate than our real wealth is being replaced.

That is well worth thinking about. That is the unbalanced budget that is most serious and it is to balance that budget that the great program of conservation and useful public works is being carried out. The success of that form of budget balancing is just as important to the future of America as that of the Treasury, important as that may be.

As a matter of fact, the Treasury is all right and we are balancing that budget -- you needn't worry -- but, in addition to it, we are going to use every effort to balance the budget of our human and our natural resources.

I have had a very wonderful trip. I have seen a lot and I have learned a lot. I wish a whole lot of other people from back East and from Washington, D. C., could take trips like this.

I am going on down to Fort Peck to see the largest earthdam in the world. Yesterday I saw the largest concrete dam in the world. All of them are intended to do just what I have been talking about -- to give people a better chance -- and I believe that is what the American people want and are going to get.

It has been good to see you all this morning. I wish I could stop off longer and see this country. I have been here before, you know. I wish I could go up to Glacier. I wish I could drive in an automobile because I can see more that way than from the rear platform of a train.

I hope to come back and see you again soon.

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M. H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF
THE PRESIDENT, FORT PECK, MONTANA,
OCTOBER 3, 1937.

Governor Ayers and, I can almost say, my old friends of Fort Peck, because some of you were here three years ago.

Three years have come and gone and I see a great change. When I was here before there was just the beginning of a dam and now it is about three-quarters finished.

I have been thrilled by it not only because it is four times bigger than any other earth filled dam in the whole world but because of what it is going to do for the people of Montana and the whole Missouri Basin.

It is another illustration of what we have been doing in the past three or four years. During that time we have given useful work to millions of unemployed citizens; we have brought water to dry places, we have increased and cheapened the use of electricity and we have completed literally thousands of projects of immediate usefulness in every county and every state of the Union.

But, most important of all, the Nation as a whole has understood the long-range purpose of our policies. The Nation has understood that we are building for future generations of our children and grandchildren, and that in the greater part of what we have done, the money spent is an investment which will come back a thousandfold in the coming years.

I wish that lots of people could have taken this trip with me out to the Coast and back. I wish in particular that a certain type of citizen could have taken it -- the "doubting Thomases."

Not long ago a very important business man of New York City came to see me to talk about the one thing that lay nearest to his heart, the balancing of the budget. Well, I told him I thought it was pretty important and that we were going to get it balanced next year. Then I asked him if he had ever read the budget. He said "No." I asked him how much he would save in the coming year if he could and he said, "Oh, two or three billions of dollars." And then came my question which always stumps people of his kind. I said, "Just where would you cut expenses?" He hemmed and hawed and he hemmed and hawed some more, and he couldn't tell me where he would save money, although he was saying to the Nation, through the newspaper he owned, that it was perfectly simple to do it.

Well, I pressed him on it and finally he said this: "Why, you could save half the cost of relief by putting every family on to the dole. Every family that is out of a job or starving, put them on a dole the whole year round. Most important of all, you can stop building, right away, these silly public works like Fort Peck and the Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dam. Stop all this flood control business. Stop all this irrigation business."

When I suggested to him that his program would bring terrific hardship on several million families of Americans, he finally told me what his real philosophy of life was. He said, "All this business of helping people is ruining the country. Look at my taxes. I have to pay half of all my income in Federal and state and local taxes."

And I happened to know what that gentleman's income was — four hundred thousand dollars a year. And that "poor" man thought that he was going to the poor house because, after paying his taxes, he only had two hundred thousand dollars a year left.

Well, they are not all like him. Most of the attacks being made on American policies come from people who do not know the United States, come from people who have never been out through the great West, come from people who do not understand the problem, for example, of the drought area. They are people who do not understand the obligation that the government of the locality and of the state and of the Nation has to try to do everything they possibly can to make possible a decent living for the citizens within their borders.

Yes, they are the kind of people who do not understand when Jim Murray and Jim O'Connor come into my office week after week and make perfect nuisances of themselves and say to me, "Mr. President, we have got to have power developed at the Fort Peck Dam." They are the kind of people that say, "Why, there is all the power in the world up there; why add any more to it?"

They are the kind of people who cannot understand the interest — my interest, Jim Murray's interest, Jim O'Connor's interest, Jerry O'Connell's interest — in the development of the Yellowstone, of the Milk, of the Gallatin, of the Big Horn and of a lot of other rivers right in this State.

One thing I have always specialized in ever since I started collecting postage stamps at the age of ten years is geography, and especially the geography of the United States. I think I realize, as all of you good people do, that we can do many things and we are going to do many things for the preservation of our water out through the dry areas of the country and in taking people off land where they cannot possibly live and give them a chance to farm on good land.

That is the kind of policy your Government should have and must follow. I believe that the people, not only of Montana but of every other state in the Union, are appreciative of the fact that we know where we are going and intend to go there.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Grand Forks, North Dakota
October 4, 1937, 11.15 A.M., C.T.

GOVERNOR LANCER, MY FRIENDS OF NORTH DAKOTA AND OF THE NEARBY
STATE OF MINNESOTA AS WELL:

I very much regret that the necessities of the railroad schedule brought me through the greater part of North Dakota by dark. Last night, however, I saw a portion of the drought area of eastern Montana where they have a situation that is akin to your(s) situation in the western part of this State. We can at least be thankful (that) for the rains and the crops in this valley and, indeed, in the eastern part of both Dakotas and most of Minnesota have been far more plentiful this year than last (year).

And I know something of this valley even though this is the first time that I have been in Grand Forks in the daytime. I have known a great deal about it because of a young man who gave me a great disappointment this morning. I had always thought that "Jefty" O'Connor was born in Grand Forks, but he told me that he didn't get here until he was twelve days old.

He has left North Dakota for a while and is now a citizen of California although, ever since I have been in Washington he has been there, doing his part -- and it is a very good one -- in keeping the banks of the United States solvent and your money safe.

I am glad to have had a chance to see your great University, to see the work that is being done with the assistance given by the Federal Government toward the erection of buildings -- to see what I believe is the first mistake of the WPA, this grandstand, it is

only half as big as it ought to be.

On this intensely interesting trip I have had another view of the northern and western part of the United States which is so greatly dependant for its prosperity on agriculture and its sister occupation -- forestry. And I am more than ever convinced of the importance of continuing our national policy of working towards a better economy by stabilizing and improving the life of the average family.

(I received) The other day I got a letter from one of the only two living former members of the Supreme Court of the United States.

I have not asked his permission but I am certain that he will not mind my reading to you three sentences from his letter because they express so beautifully the thoughts (of so many of us) that many of us have. He says in his letter:

"In this season of grave reflection it gives me greatest comfort and happiness to realize that politically and socially through all my long life, my earnest sympathies have gone out and my earnest efforts have been exercised for the great numbers of my neighbors who were living in intolerable conditions while a few of us under discriminating laws of our own making were enjoying much more than a fair share of the bounties of nature and governments. (Applause)

"The confidence that this has been and is unnecessary and socially unwise, and can and should be corrected in large measure by rational and social legislation, is

at bottom the reason, my dear Mr. President, why I see eye to eye with you in your effort to accomplish in eight years what should have been in process of accomplishment through the last forty or fifty years.

(Applause)

"My conviction is definite that the most difficult charges for our political adversaries to answer at the bar of history will be their opposition to the adoption of civilization's only process for peaceably settling disputes between nations, and their callous indifference and opposition to civilization's other demand that our neighbors be given at least a modest share in the comforts of life." (Applause)

And he goes on to speak of what we are doing by introducing into our national life and legislation something at least of the influence of the Golden Rule -- the inauguration of a trend toward better things which very certainly can never be halted or turned back. And finally he pays me the finest compliment that any man could have in his lifetime. He says,

"Of course you have fallen into some errors -- that is human, but you have put a new face upon the social and political life of our country." (Applause)

And, my friends, if ever I get to be eighty years old, like Mr. Justice John H. Clarke, I hope that I will have the same spirit that at that age still seeks better things for my neighbors. (Applause)

In seeking the betterment of our farm population, no matter what part of the country they live in, no matter whether they raise

cotton or corn or wheat or sugar beets or potatoes or rice, the experience we have today teaches us that if we would avoid the poverty of the past, we must strive today -- not tomorrow -- toward two objectives.

The first is called "better land use" -- using the land in such a way that we do not destroy it or harm it for future generations, (and) using it in such a way that it will bring to us the best year-in and year-out return as a reward for our labors. This we are doing at least in part today by various methods, by helping to (educating) educate the users of land, by putting back into grass or trees land which should not be under the plow, by bringing water to dry soil which has immense possibilities for profitable use, and by helping farm families to resettle on good land. The money we are spending on these objectives is already coming back (as) in increased national income and will be repaid, in the long run, many times over. (Applause)

The other objective is the control, with the approval of what I believe is the overwhelming sentiment of the farmers themselves, of what is known as crop surplus.

Any one crop, wheat or cotton or corn, (for example), is like any widely used manufactured commodity, like bricks or automobiles or shoes. If, for instance, every shoe factory in the United States were to run on a three-shift basis, turning out shoes and nothing but shoes day and night for two or three years, we would have such (a) an enormous surplus of shoes in the United States that that surplus would have to be sold to the public, in order to get rid of it, at far less than the actual cost of manufacturing the

shoes. And the same thing goes for wheat. Yes, the principle is the same whether it is shoes or wheat or cotton or corn or hogs.

(The same thing holds good of wheat or cotton or corn.)

We should remember, incidentally, that the prosperity of the wheat growers helps the prosperity of the cotton growers, because you in the Northwest, when wheat is bringing a reasonable and fair price, you have more money to buy more articles made out of cotton, and, in the same way, the prosperity of the cotton growers helps you, the growers of wheat, for the cotton belt, if the price of cotton is reasonable and brings a fair price, is enabled to buy and eat more bread.

And I think we have come to a realization all over the country that if an enormous surplus of (wheat) any one crop, whether it be cotton or wheat or any other thing, piles up in the hands of buyers and speculators, (you know from past experience how the price of wheat will drop almost) the price will drop out of sight the following year. Neither you nor I want to repeat the experiences of 1932.

Therefore, I believe that it is essential to our national economy that we have something to say about the control of (the) major crop surpluses. The Supreme Court has ruled, in a divided opinion, that the Government cannot make a contract with a farmer by which acreage is fixed either (downward or) upward or downward. I, personally, have never subscribed to the constitutional theory that agriculture is a purely local matter and (that it) has (therefore) no national (scope) interest.

Perhaps it will be -- when we pass the new crop bill,

perhaps it will be held constitutional for the Government to say to a farmer, "If you do thus and so, the Government will do thus and so." Now, as a matter of common sense, from your point of view and mine, (I) we cannot see very much practical difference between the two methods. In the one case the farmer voluntarily enters into a contract; in the other case he voluntarily does something with the certain knowledge that, having done it, the Government on its part will do something. One is a contract; the other is a promise. And the result is the same. (Applause)

I feel certain that a majority in both Houses of the Congress will heed the wish of (most) the majority of the farmers of the Nation in enacting crop surplus control legislation. And it is my thought that legislation toward that end ought to be passed at the earliest possible moment.

Because this legislation -- because it was not passed at the last session, it is too late for it to have any bearing on the winter wheat (which) that is now in the ground. Many farmers, in addition to that, do fall plowing against next spring's seeding, and in some parts of the Nation crops, such as cotton, are actually (planted) put in the ground in late February and early March.

And remember another thing, that even after a bill is passed and becomes law on the signature of the President, it takes a month or two before it is humanly possible to set up the machinery in all parts of the country to carry out the provisions of the new law. If, therefore, new legislation is to affect the 1938 crops, haste seems to be important from every angle.

And so, my friends, I come to a great agricultural section

with the message that your interest is exactly the same as every
other agricultural section of the Nation, even the same interest
as it is in the town of Hyde Park, County of Dutchess, State of
New York. (Applause) I am happy to come back to North Dakota, and
I hope that the coming year will bring you still further along the
road to prosperity. And I am confident that we are going to con-
tinue on that road if our purpose is firm, if we go along the road
we are going now. (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FARGO, NORTH DAKOTA, October 4th, 1937, 2.10 P.M.

Governor Langer, my friends of Fargo:

I am glad to come back here again and I wish I could stay here longer. I am glad to note that North Dakota is so much better off this year than it was last year.

I want to tell you what I have said on several occasions on this trip, that I greatly wish that all of the calamity howlers and narrow-minded stay-at-homes could have gone across the continent with me.

You know, it is natural for people to be fearful of or antagonistic to things and places that they have never seen. I know a good many people who consider themselves national authorities on this subject or that who have never been west of the Mississippi, and some who have never been west of the Hudson.

Yes, it pays to travel? We get a much bigger perspective and a lot of knowledge.

I remember a story that President Wilson told about North Dakota. He and his family, when he was President of Princeton, were spending the summer in England and one Sunday morning they went to church. The rector of the church got up and said, "The Bishop of North Dakota will preach today. We are to have the pleasure of having a sermon from the Bishop of North Dakota and, by way of explanation, let me tell you that North Dakota is one of His Majesty's colonies."

I heard another story the other day in a letter from the American Ambassador in Mexico City, Josephus Daniels. One day he got a letter from a friend of his in Chicago, who wrote, "I am contemplating a business trip to Mexico City. Do you think it would be safe for me to come and bring my wife and daughter with me?" A few hours later a Mexican friend of his came to the Embassy and said, "Mr. Ambassador, I would like to go to the Chicago Exposition. Do you think it would be safe for me to take my wife and family to Chicago?"

The Ambassador told the gentleman from Chicago and the gentleman from Mexico that both trips would be eminently safe, so they went and they had a wonderful time.

I believe that if more of us could get around the country -- and this year travel has increased enormously -- the more national we will be in our point of view. That is why these trips that I take every year in the United States have been of very, very great help to me in running the job of President. Although some people have suggested that I ought to "coast" -- ought to stay in the White House and just sit home by the fire and have a good time in the next three years -- I am not going to take their advice.

So I hope I will have the pleasure of seeing you good people in North Dakota once more in the next three years.

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INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
from the rear platform of the Presidential special train
Breckenridge, Minnesota
October 4, 1937, 3.10 P.M.

(There were about 15,000 people in the audience.)

I have just told the Governor that I have been making speeches all day but that I would come out to say "Howdy" to you good people. I am glad to be back in Minnesota.

It is all right. The population is not going off (referring to the many children). (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
from the rear platform of his special train
Willmar, Minnesota
October 4, 1937, 5.50 P.M.

(There were about 8,000 people in the audience.)

I was just saying to Governor Benson, who is a very old friend of mine, as you know, that this stop is not made for a scheduled speech. It is put down on the program as a platform appearance. But I do want to tell you how interesting this trip has been.

We have had a wonderful chance to see conditions all the way from the Mississippi to the Pacific Coast and they are a lot better than they were at this time last year.

I am very glad to come back into Minnesota because, as you know, I have a lot of friends in this State. I have always admired the splendid progressive policies of the State of Minnesota. I have always admired the fact that you people have got what I consider to be a national point of view. So I am just saying "Howdy" to you.

I think that these trips through the country are very essential for anybody that happens to be President of the United States. I have learned a lot and I am coming back at the first opportunity to see you again some time in the next three years. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
St. Paul, Minnesota
October 4, 1937, 8.45 P.M., C.T.

(The President spoke from a temporary platform erected alongside the rear platform of his special train, which had been spotted on an embankment overlooking a railroad yard in which was gathered an audience of about 35,000 people. The President was introduced by Governor Benson.)

I am glad to return to St. Paul after an absence of less than a year. I appreciate the welcome that has been given me in (to) this State (given me) by my old friend, Governor Benson.

I cannot come to Minnesota, however, without thinking of another old friend who has passed on - Floyd Olson, (applause) whose memory as a great liberal leader will always be with us.

This morning in Grand Forks I spoke of the pressing need for national legislation to preserve soil fertility and safeguard farmers' income. For three years the Agricultural Adjustment Act was a great cornerstone in the new and permanent structure that we Americans are trying to rear on the ruins of the old. That cornerstone was destroyed by the verdict of the Supreme Court of the United States. (Applause and boos) It has been partly, but only partly, replaced by the Soil Conservation Act. The National Farm Act, which I hope the Congress will pass at its next session, will, I am confident, preserve and strengthen the present Soil Conservation Program, and at the same time give us provision against the piling up of unmanageable surpluses and provide for storage of reserve food supplies in an ever-normal granary.

It must be repeated over and over again that such a policy is intended not only to maintain farmers' prices by holding down huge surpluses which destroy those prices, but also to assure adequate supplies of food to the consuming public in the event of severe and widespread drought. Farmers and processors alike realize, I am sure, that there must be a wholly adequate supply of food for the Nation at reasonable prices. There must never be a shortage of food -- nor must the price of food rise so greatly that the consuming public cannot afford to eat. (Applause)

On (my) this trip of mine to the Pacific Coast and back I have found overwhelming evidence in favor of that twin piece of legislation which like the Crop Bill is intended to replace (a) another cornerstone which was knocked out by the Supreme Court. The wage and hour legislation proposed for the benefit of those industrial workers who are processing products that will move in interstate commerce, is of course not intended to restore all the features of the National Industrial Recovery Act. But it is intended to restore certain fair standards for the workers of (the Nation) America. It is intended to prevent over-long hours of labor. And it is intended to establish a reasonable minimum wage, and it is intended to end child labor in every state in the Union. (Applause)

As in the case of farm legislation, a wages and hour and child labor law will undoubtedly accomplish two great purposes -- first, an increase in employment, and secondly, an increase in the total of the Nation's income.

As a result of both of these the actual cost of relief for the unemployed should decrease, and existing taxes -- not higher

taxes -- should make the financial problem of our local and State and Federal Governments more easy.

(It is) It seems to me axiomatic that no part of the country can truly prosper if its standards of living and its standards of pay are far below those of all the other parts of the country. Therefore, I am looking for substantial support for wage and hour legislation from every part of the (country) Union, North, East, West and South.

A prominent manufacturer told me the other day that because of the expansion of his business he is looking for a new site for a new factory, and he is not the only one. He said that he and his directors had definitely decided against locating in any of the communities which had held out as an attraction low wages and unrestricted hours of work. Therefore, he is locating his new plant in a community (which) that pays high wages, works the men and women only forty hours a week, gives them Saturdays and Sundays off, and maintains a high standard of living. (Applause)

Yes, the more I study the subject the more I become convinced that it does not pay any community or any region in the long run to maintain low wages or low living standards. Throughout the Nation we are working toward fairly uniform standards of pay and work in every section and in every community. And the only exception to (this) that rule will give some effect to a small differential based on (an) the actual cost, the actual lower or (an) the actual higher cost of living in some communities or sections as compared with the average of the country.

This greater uniformity, my friends, is being encouraged

every day by the amazing progress that has been made in transportation (during the) in these last few years. People are traveling more, (and) getting to know their neighbors (one) a hundred or five hundred (or) and a thousand miles away for the first time.

The interchange of goods between different parts of the country is also making amazing strides. In this part, (of the Nation) the new nine-foot channel from the Twin Cities to St. Louis is a good illustration of what I mean. You have long known of my interest in its development. Last year, in spite of the election, I had planned a trip (by) a trip by boat from St. Paul and Minneapolis to New Orleans, but the drought came along. This year I had planned to make that trip without fail and then the Congress stayed and I could not do it. (Next year I hope to make it.) But next year I am going to do it. (Applause)

You, the people of Minnesota, have proved in the past that you favor progress and continued progress in Government. (Applause) You are not wild-eyed radicals, as some people in Wall Street believe. You believe in a constitutional, representative democracy just as I do. You understand me when I (speak) talk in national terms. You believe with me that the business (man) men of the Nation will most greatly prosper if the workers and the farmers prosper also.

Yes, (we) you and I have worked toward a common goal in the past and our cooperation today and in the future is by no means at an end.

So may it be. (Applause)

(After prolonged applause the President said: "Goodnight everybody, I have got to catch the train again.")

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS
OF THE PRESIDENT
TOLEDO, OHIO
OCTOBER 5th, 1937.

I have had a wonderful trip all the way out to the Coast and back and I wish you could have all been with me.

I am glad to have a chance to stop in Ohio. When I was out in the State of Washington, I heard a very interesting story that tells its own lesson.

The man who was building that great Grand Coulee Dam, which is about 500 feet high and the largest dam that man has ever built in all the ages, told me that a certain prominent citizen of Ohio had come out there and had said, "What good is it going to do Ohio to spend fifty million dollars in Washington?"

So the man who was building the dam said, "I will tell you what I will do. I will bet you a hat that on any part of this project that you pick I can show you some material that has been manufactured in Ohio."

I think that is a pretty good lesson for us all, to show the national unity of the country and how the success of one part of the country affects the success of every other part.

As you know, that is one of our objectives, to have a rounded prosperity, not only in the industrial centers but out in the farming areas and down in the South. That is one way that we, as a Nation, can go ahead.

We have started on the road and I think we are getting there.

It is good to see you.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

C A U T I O N : This radio address of the President, to be made from the Presidential Special Train at Cleveland, Ohio, October 5th, 1937, is to be held for release upon delivery, expected about 10.45 Eastern Standard Time.

PLEASE GUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

M. H. MCINTYRE 1002
Secretary to the President.

To you who are attending this Forum on Current Events, I again extend my good wishes and my congratulations on its success.

I am speaking from the railroad train in Cleveland on my way home after a two weeks' trip to the Coast and back, and it is, therefore, natural perhaps that my thoughts at this moment run to travel.

I do not want to detract in any way from the value of a Forum when I say that no human being can possibly get a complete picture or a rounded conception of any national problem without traveling through the country and talking with people in every walk of life in every section of the Nation.

The professor and student in a university, the newspaper editor and the reporter, the man in public life and his local constituent, can and do learn greatly by much reading, much study and much discussion, especially if the reading, the study and the discussion cover all sides of any given question. But the result of it all is almost inevitably tinged with provincialism or narrowness if it is not supplemented by "field work." By "field work" I mean not merely personal observation of the actual practice involving the immediate problem in the home town, but also observation in a field which covers the entire nation.

I knew a man once who, after graduation from college with a Bachelor of Arts Degree, kept right on by taking a degree in Science, a degree in Law, a degree in Medicine and several ^{graduate} degrees in other subjects. When I knew him he was forty-five years old and had been at college for more than a quarter of a century. He was a walking encyclopaedia but had never been outside of his home town, and he was about the most bigoted, narrow-minded, unsophisticated and generally impossible person I have ever met.

It is unfortunately true that in respect to public affairs and national problems, the excellently educated man and woman form the least worthwhile opinions, for the simple reason that they have enough education to make them think that they know it all, whereas actually their point of view is based on associations with others who, in their geographical outlook, are about one inch wide.

That is why, in the utmost good humor, I hope that in the days to come our educated and thoughtful citizens will make some special efforts to know their own country better.

A distinguished editor of the Tribune once suggested that young men should go West. I would amend this by suggesting that men and women, old and young, should go not only to the West of Horace Greeley, but all the way to the Coast -- should go South and North and East.

And in their travels, may I repeat a suggestion which I once gave to a young man in New York who thought he knew it all. I said, "Take a second-hand car, put on a flannel shirt, drive out to the Coast by the northern route and come back by the southern route. Don't stop anywhere where you have to pay more than \$2.00 for your room and bath. Don't talk to your banking friends or your Chamber of Commerce friends, but specialize on the gasoline station man, the small restaurant keeper and farmers you meet by the wayside and your fellow automobile travelers."

The Forum is a grand institution. We ought to have more of them, but they ought to be supplemented by an intensive drive to get people to know their own country better. It is a grand country and we can all be proud of it.

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October 11, 1937

This address of the President, to be delivered by radio, from the White House, on Monday, October 11, 1937, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

Release upon delivery, expected at 11:46 A. M., Eastern Standard Time.

Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. AMBASSADOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In the epic struggle of the human race to govern itself Poland for centuries has been the champion of freedom. Through stress and storm whether her sun shone brightly or suffered long though temporary eclipse, she has ever fought to hold aloft the torch of human liberty.

Because we hold this ideal of liberty in common, ours has been a long and unbroken friendship with the people of Poland. From the days of our struggle to achieve Nationhood, unbroken by any rift through the century and a half of our life as a Nation, the American people and the people of Poland have maintained a friendship based upon this common spiritual ideal.

General Krzyzanowski, whose patriotism we commemorate today, is another link to bind us to the people from which he came in the full tide of youthful promise when shadows lay over the land which gave him birth. It is a high privilege to bear witness to the debt which this country owes to men of Polish blood. Gratefully we acknowledge the services of those intrepid champions of human freedom -- Pulaski and Kosciuszko -- whose very names are watchwords of liberty and whose deeds are part of the imperishable record of American independence. Out of the past they speak to us to bid us guard the heritage which they helped to bestow.

They and the millions of other men and women of Polish blood, who have united their destinies with those of America -- whether in the days of Colonial settlement; in the War to attain independence; in the hard struggle out of which emerged our national unity; in the great journeyings across the Western Plains to the slopes of the Pacific; on farm or in town or city -- through all of our history they have made their full contribution to the upbuilding of our institutions and to the fulfillment of our national life.

These are the thoughts and reflections that come to mind today as we consign to Arlington National Cemetery the honored dust of a son of Poland who faithfully served the country of his adoption. General Krzyzanowski was the embodiment of the Polish ideal of liberty. Into the making of that ancient ideal had gone the struggles and the vicissitudes of a thousand years of Polish national life. He whom we honor today, no less than those of his blood and kindred, who preceded him to America or who followed him to our shores, brought to us, and with us became partakers in, a common aspiration of freedom.

Neither time nor distance could erase from stout Polish hearts the memory of a glorious struggle for liberty, a struggle which happily ended in our own day and generation in the restoration of Poland to nationhood and to her rightful place as a sovereign state. As we sympathized in her aspirations to freedom so we rejoice in her attainment of independence.

We as a Nation seek spiritual union with all who love freedom. Of many bloods and of diverse national origins we stand before the world today as one people united in a common determination. That determination is to uphold the ideal of human society which makes conscience superior to brute strength -- the ideal which would substitute freedom for force in the governments of the world.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
delivered from the White House
October 12, 1937, 9.30 P.M., E.S.T.

MY FRIENDS:

This afternoon I have issued a Proclamation calling a special session of the Congress to convene on Monday, November 15, 1937.

I do this in order to give to the Congress an opportunity to consider important legislation before the regular session in January, and to enable the Congress to avoid a lengthy session next year, extending through the summer.

I know that many enemies of democracy will say that it is bad for business, bad for the tranquility of the country, to have a special session -- even one beginning only six weeks before the regular session. But I have never had sympathy with the point of view that a session of the Congress is an unfortunate intrusion of what they call "politics" into our national affairs. Those who do not like democracy want to keep legislators at home. But the Congress is an essential instrument of democratic government; and democratic government can never be considered an intruder into the affairs of a democratic nation.

I shall ask this special session to consider immediately certain important legislation which my recent trip through the nation convinces me the American people immediately need. This does not mean that other legislation, to which I am not referring tonight, is not an important (for) part of our national well-being. But other legislation can be more readily discussed at the regular session.

Anyone charged with proposing or judging national policies should have first-hand knowledge of the nation as a whole.

That is why again this year I have taken trips to all parts of the country. Last spring I visited the Southwest. This summer I made several trips in the East. Now I am just back from a trip all the way across the continent, and later this autumn I hope to pay my annual visit to the Southeast.

For a President especially it is a duty to think in national terms.

He must think not only of this year but of future years, when someone else will be President.

He must look beyond the average of the prosperity and well-being of the country (for) because averages easily cover up danger spots of poverty and instability.

He must not let the country be deceived by a merely temporary prosperity which depends on wasteful exploitation of resources which cannot last.

He must think not only of keeping us out of war today, but also of keeping us out of war in generations to come.

The kind of prosperity we want is the sound and permanent kind which is not built up temporarily at the expense of any section or (any) a group. And the kind of peace we want is the sound and permanent kind, which is built on the cooperative search for peace by all the nations which want peace.

The other day I was asked to state my outstanding impression gained on this recent trip to the Pacific Coast and back, and I said that it seemed to me to be the general understanding on the

part of the average citizen, understanding of the broad objectives and policies which I have just outlined.

Five years of fierce discussion and debate -- five years of information through the radio and the moving picture -- have taken the whole nation to school in the nation's business. Even those who have most attacked our objectives have, by their very criticism, encouraged the mass of our citizens to think about and understand the issues involved, and, understanding, to approve.

Out of that process, we have learned to think as a nation. And out of that process we have learned to feel ourselves a nation. As never before in our history, each section of America says to every other section, "Thy people shall be my people."

For most of the country this has been a good year -- better in dollars and cents than for many years -- far better in the soundness of its prosperity. (And) Everywhere I went I found particular optimism about the good effect on business which is expected from the steady spending by farmers of the largest farm income in many years.

But we have not yet done all that must be done to make this prosperity stable. The people of the United States were checked in their efforts to prevent future piling up of huge agricultural surpluses and the tumbling prices which inevitably follow them. They were checked in their efforts to secure reasonable minimum wages and maximum hours and the end of child labor. And because they were checked, many groups in many parts of the country still have less purchasing power and a lower standard of living than the nation as a whole can permanently allow.

Americans realize these facts. That is why they ask Government not to stop governing simply because prosperity has come back a long way.

They do not look on Government as an interloper in their affairs. On the contrary, they regard it as the most effective form of organized self-help.

Sometimes I get bored sitting in Washington hearing certain people talk and talk about all that Government ought not to do -- people who got all they wanted from Government back in the days when the financial institutions and the railroads were being bailed out in 1933, bailed out by the Government. It is refreshing to go out through the country and feel the common wisdom that the time to repair the roof is when the sun is shining.

They want the financial budget balanced. But they want the human budget balanced as well. They want to set up a national economy which balances itself with as little Government subsidy as possible, for they realize that persistent subsidies ultimately bankrupt their Government.

They are less concerned that every detail be immediately right than they are that the direction be right. They know that just so long as we are traveling on the right road, it does not make much difference if occasionally we hit a "Thank you marn."

The overwhelming majority of our citizens who live by agriculture are thinking (very) clearly how they want Government to help them in connection with the production of crops. They want Government help in two ways -- first, in the control of surpluses, and, second, in the proper use of land.

The other day a reporter told me that he had never been able to understand why the Government seeks to curtail crop produc-

tion and, at the same time, to open up new irrigated acres.

He was confusing two totally separate objectives.

Crop surplus control relates to the total amount of any major crop grown in the whole nation on all cultivated land, (good or bad) good land or poor land -- control by the cooperation of the crop growers and with the help of the Government. Land use (on the other hand) is a policy of providing each farmer with the best quality and type of land we have, or can make available, for his part in that total production. Adding good new land for diversified crops is offset by abandoning poor land now uneconomically farmed.

The total amount of production largely determines the price of the crop, and, therefore, the difference between comfort and misery for the farmer.

Let me give you an example: If we Americans were foolish enough to run every shoe factory twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, we would soon have more shoes than the Nation could possibly buy -- a surplus of shoes so great that it would have to be destroyed, or given away, or sold at prices far below the cost of production. That simple (law) illustration, that simple law of supply and demand equally affects the price of all our major crops.

You and I have heard big manufacturers talk about control of production by the farmer as an indefensible "economy of scarcity," as they call it. And yet these same manufacturers never hesitate to shut down their own huge plants, throw men out of work, and cut down the purchasing power of the whole community (communities) whenever they think that they must adjust their production to an oversupply of the goods they make. When it is their baby who has the measles,

they call it not "an economy of scarcity" but "sound business judgment."

Of course, speaking seriously, what you and I want is such governmental rules of the game that labor and agriculture and industry will all produce a balanced abundance without waste.

So we intend this winter to find a way to prevent four-and-a-half cent cotton and nine cent corn and thirty cent wheat -- with all the disaster those prices mean for all of us -- to prevent those prices from ever coming back again. To do that, the farmers themselves want to cooperate to build an all-weather farm program so that in the long run prices will be more stable. They believe this can be done, and the national budget kept out of the red.

And when we have found that way to protect the farmers' prices from the effects of alternating crop surpluses and crop scarcities, we shall also have found the way to protect the nation's food supply from the effects of the same fluctuation. We ought always to have enough food at prices within the reach of the consuming public. For the consumers in the cities of America, we must find a way to help the farmers to store up in years of plenty enough to avoid hardship in the years of scarcity.

Our land use policy is a different thing. I have just visited much of the work that the national Government is doing to stop soil erosion, to save our forests, to prevent floods, to produce electric power for more general use, and to give people a chance to move from poor land (on) to better land by irrigating thousands of acres that need only water to provide an opportunity to make a good living.

I saw bare and burned hillsides where only a few years ago

great forests were growing. They are now being planted to young trees, not only to stop erosion, but to provide a lumber supply for the future.

I saw CCC boys and WPA workers building check-dams and small ponds and terraces to raise the water table and make it possible for farms and villages to remain in safety where they now are. I saw the harnessing of the turbulent Missouri, a muddy stream, with the top soil of many states. And I saw barges on new channels carrying produce and freight athwart the Nation.

Let me give you two simple illustrations of why Government projects of this type have a national importance for the whole country, and not merely a local importance.

In the Boise Valley in Idaho I saw a district which had been recently irrigated to enormous fertility so that a family can now make a pretty good living from forty acres of its land. Many of the families, who are making good in that valley today, moved there from a thousand miles away. They came from the dust strip that runs through the middle of the Nation all the way from the Canadian border to (Mexico) Texas -- a strip which includes large portions of ten states. That valley in western Idaho, therefore, assumes at once a national importance as a second chance for willing farmers. And, year by year, we propose to add more valleys to take care of thousands of other families who need the same kind of second chance in new green pastures.

The other illustration was at the Grand Coulee Dam in the State of Washington. The engineer in charge told me that almost half of the whole cost of that dam to date had been spent for materials